

WORLD TOURISM TODAY

K.K. SHARMA



The process of globalization has triggered the mixing and intermixing of races, cultures and peoples all over the world. The world economy and culture have become very inter dependent and interconnected. More and more people are trotting over the globe. This has brought many far reaching changes in industry and culture. The people from the developed world are frequenting the developing world for business and trade. The people from the developing world are visting industrialised world in search of trade and business also. Besides this other people from the service industry like teaching and army are also visiting other countries. All these important aspects have been discussed in detail in this fascinating book. It is hoped that the book will fulfil this long felt need.

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12. Tourist Behaviour Research—The Role of 'I' and Neural Networks
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14. The International Dimension

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K.K. Sharma

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Preface

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All these important aspects have been discussed in detail in this fascinating book. The editor acknowledges the assistance takn from various sources for the completion of this book.

1.5.2004

Editor

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Tourism and Recreation in the Pleasure Periphery

Wilderness and National Parks

Historically, wilderness has been one of the main sources of 'the other' in western society. Wilderness was what lay beyond the boundaries of a 'civilised', ordered landscape. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, wilderness and wild areas began to assume a more favourable impression under the influence of the romantic and transcendentalist movements which favoured wild nature as an antidote to an increasingly industrialised and technocratic society. More recently, the conservation and commodification of wilderness has become entwined with the growth of recreation and tourism which has seen national parks established not only for outdoor and adventure recreation enthusiasts but also as one of the main sites in which eco-tourism occurs.

Geographers have long played a significant role in understanding and contributing to the conservation of natural resources and natural areas and their relationship with recreation and tourist activities (e.g. Graves 1920; Marsh and Wall 1982; Sewell and Dearden 1989). Indeed, recreation and tourism has long been used as an economic justification for the conservation and legal protection of such areas. Geographers have contributed to an understanding of a number of different dimensions of the relationship between wilderness and national park concepts and recreation and tourism:

- the changing meaning of wilderness in Western society;
- the environmental history of national parks and wilderness areas;
- the value of wilderness;
- the identification and inventory of wilderness;

- the demand for wilderness and natural areas, including visitor profiles, activities and behaviours;
- the development of wilderness and national park policy and the supply of wilderness and natural areas for recreation and tourist activities.

The Changing Meaning of Wilderness in Western Society

Definition presents a major problem in the identification of wilderness areas. Definition is important 'because it is the basis for common understanding and communication' and it 'provides a basis for putting a concept into action through creating and preserving a referent' (Gardner 1978:7). However, wilderness is an elusive concept with many layers of meaning (Gardner 1978; Graber 1978). Tuan (1974: 112) has gone so far as to claim that 'wilderness cannot be defined objectively: it is as much a state of mind as a description of nature.' Wilderness has now become 'a symbol of the orderly progress of nature. As a state of mind, true wilderness exists only in the great sprawling cities.'

The problem of defining wilderness was summarised by Nash (1967: 1):

'Wilderness' has a deceptive concreteness at first glance. The difficulty is that while the word is a noun it acts like an adjective. There is no specific material object the wilderness. The terra designates a quality (as the 'ness' suggests) that produces a certain mood or feeling in a given individual and, as a consequence, may be assigned by that person to a specific place. Because of this subjectivity a universally acceptable definition of wilderness is elusive...Wilderness, in short, is so heavily freighted with meaning of a personal, symbolic, and changing kind as to resist easy definition.

The meaning of wilderness has changed over-time but several themes may be distinguished. The word 'wilderness' is derived from the old English word *wildeorene* meaning 'of wild beasts', which in turn is derived from the Teutonic languages of Northern Europe. In German, for example, *Wildnis* is a cognate verb, and *Wildor* signifies wild game (Nash 1967:2).

The Romance language have no single word which expresses the idea of wilderness but rely instead on its attributes. In French the equivalent terms are *lieu desert* (deserted place) and *solitude inculte*, while in Spanish wilderness is *la naturaleza, inmensidad* or *falta de cultura* (lack of cultivation). 'Italian uses the vivid *scene di disordine o confusione*' (Nash 1967:2). The Latin root of desert, *de* and *serere* (to break apart, becoming solitary) connotes not only the loneliness and fear associated with separation but also an arid, barren tract lacking cultivation (Mark 1984:3). Both the Northern European and the Mediterranean traditions define and portray wilderness as a landscape of fear, which is outside the safer bounds of human settlement (Tuan 1971, 1979). This image was taken up by Nash (1967:2) who noted that the image of wilderness 'is that of a man [sic] in an alien environment where the civilization that normally orders and controls life is absent.'

The landscape of fear that dominated early attitudes towards wilderness was noted in the eighth-century classic *Beowulf* (Wright 1957), 'where *wildeor* appeared in reference to savage and fantastic beasts inhabiting a dismal region of forests, crags, and

cliffs' (Nash 1967:1). The translation of the Scriptures into English from Greek and Hebrew led to the use of wilderness as a description of 'the uninhabited, arid land of the Near East' (Nash 1967:2-3). It was at this point that wilderness came to be associated with spiritual values. Wilderness was seen as both a testing ground for man and an area in which man could draw closer to God.

The biblical attitude towards nature was an essential ingredient of the Judaeo-Christian or western attitude towards wilderness (Glacken 1967; Passmore 1974; Graber 1978; Attfield 1983; Pepper 1984; Short 1991). According to the dominant tradition within Judaeo-Christianity concerning humankind's relationship with nature, it was 'God's intention that mankind multiply itself, spread out over the earth, make its domain over the creation secure' (Glacken 1967; 151). This relationship is best indicated in Genesis 1:28 where God said to man, 'Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth.'

To the authors of the Bible, wilderness had a central position in their accounts as both a descriptive and as a symbolic concept. To the ancient Hebrews, wilderness was 'the environment of evil, a kind of hell' in which the wasteland was identified with God's curse (Nash 1967: 14-15). Paradise, or Eden, was the antrithesis of wilderness. The story of Adam and Eve's dismissal from the Garden of Eden, from a watered, lush paradise to a 'cursed' land of 'thorns and thistles' (Genesis 2:4), reinforced in western thought the notion that wilderness and paradise were both physical and spiritual opposites (Williams 1962). Isaiah (51:3), for instance, contains the promise that God will comfort Zion and 'make her wilderness like Eden, her desert like the garden of the Lord', while Joel (2:3) stated that 'the land is like the garden of Eden before them, but after them a desolate wilderness.'

The experience of the Israelites during the Exodus added another dimension to the Judaeo-Christian attitude towards wilderness. For 40 years the Jews, led by Moses, wandered in the 'howling waste of the wilderness' (Deuteronomy 32:10) that was the Sinai peninsula (Funk 1959). The wilderness, in this instance, was not only a place where they were punished by God for their sins but also a place where they could prove themselves worthy of the Lord and make ready for the promised land. Indeed, it was precisely because it was unoccupied that it 'could be a refuge as well as a disciplinary force' (Nash 1967:16).

The experience of the Exodus helped to establish a tradition of going to the wilderness 'for freedom and purification of faith' (Nash 1967:16). Elijah spent 40 days in the wilderness in order to draw guidance and inspiration from God (1 Kings 19:4-18). John the Baptist was the voice crying in the wilderness to prepare for the coming of the Messiah (Matthew 4:1), while Christ himself 'was led by the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil' (Matthew 4:1; Mark 1:12ff.). It was through the environment of evil and hardship, characteristic of the dominant Judaeo-Christian perception of the wilderness, that spiritual catharsis could occur, a sentiment that exists through to this day (Graber 1978).

The example of the prophets venturing into the wilderness was followed by early Christian ascetics (Williams 1962). Hermits and monks established themselves in wilderness surroundings in order to avoid the temptations of earthly wealth and pleasure and to find a solitude conducive to spiritual ideals. As Tuan (1974:148) recorded:

The monastic community in the wilderness was a model of paradise set in an unredeemed world. Wilderness was often perceived as the haunt of demons but in the neighbourhood of the monastery it could acquire some of the harmony of redeemed nature and the animals in it, like their human suzerains in the monastery, lived in peace.

The desert ascetics drew on an appreciation of nature that sprang from the Bible itself. As Glacken (1967:151) observed, 'The intense otherworldliness and rejection of the beauties of nature because they turn men away from the contemplation of God are elaborated upon far more in theological writings than in the Bible itself.' The desert monks lived in the solitude of the wilderness to remove themselves from man, not from nature. Psalm 104 provides one of the clearest statements of the existence of a sympathetic attitude in Christianity towards nature noting that everything in nature has its place in a divine order: 'the high mountains are for the wild goats; the rocks are a refuge for the badgers' (Psalm 104:18). 'O Lord, how manifold are thy works ! In wisdom hast thou made them all' (Psalm 104:24). As Glacken (1967:157) noted:

It is not to be wondered at that Psalm 104 has been quoted so often by thinkers sympathetic to the design argument and the physico-theological proof for the existence of God. The life, beauty, activity, order, and reasonableness in nature are decried without mysteries, joyously—even triumphantly. God is separate from nature but he may be understood in part from it.

The theme of the wisdom of the Lord being shown in the order of nature was similarly indicated elsewhere in the Bible. The psalmist in Psalm 8:1 exclaimed: 'O Lord, our Lord, how majestic is thy name in all the earth !' The notion that 'The heavens are telling the glory of God; and the firmament proclaims his handiwork' (Psalm 19:1) proved to be influential throughout Christendom in the Dark and Middle Ages, although by no means enabling a universally sympathetic attitude towards nature. Nature came to be regarded as a book which could reveal the works of the Lord in a manner similar to the Scriptures. In the early exegetical writings God was regarded as being made manifest in his works. 'There is a book of nature which when read alongwith the book of God, allows men to know and understand Him and his creation; not only man but nature suffered from the curse after the Fall; one may admire and love the beauty of the earth if this love and admiration is associated with the love of God' (Glacken 1967:203).

This view of nature played an important role in establishing a favourable attitude towards wild country. St Augustine (in Glacken 1967:204) wrote, 'Some people in order to discover God, read books. But there is a great book: the very appearance of created things.' Pulpit eloquence was 'adopted by medieval mystico-philosophical speculation, and finally passed into common usage' (Curtius 1953:321, in Glacken 1967:104).

Reading the book of nature for the word of God was eventually to lead to the

reading of nature itself, but the notion of nature as a book was also to prepare the way for the development of a natural theology in the writings of St Francis of Assisi, St Bonaventura and Ramon Sibiude. To St Francis, living creatures were not only symbols, but were also 'placed on earth for God's own purposes (not for man's), and they, like man, praise God' (Glacken 1967:216). St Francis' theology represented a revolutionary change in Christian attitudes towards nature because of the distinct break they make from the anthropocentric nature of earlier theology (White 1967). Upon the foundation built by the natural theologians and their intellectual heirs, such as John Ray and Gilbert White, came to be built the framework for the discovery of nature by the Romantic movement. Nevertheless, despite a continuing appreciation of nature as part of God's divine presence by some theologians, the dominant attitude in the Judaeo-Christian tradition until the seventeenth century was that true appreciation of God could only be gained by looking inwards, not out at nature. Nature was provided for man to utilise. Wilderness and wild lands were to be tamed and cultivated to display the divine order as interpreted by man.

The dominant Judaeo-Christian view of wilderness may be contrasted with that of eastern religions. In eastern thought, wilderness 'did not have an unholy or evil connotation but was venerated as the symbol and even the very essence of the deity' (Nash 1967:20). The aesthetic appreciation of wild land began to change far earlier in the Orient than in the West. By the fourth century AD, for instance, large numbers of people in China had begun to find an aesthetic appeal in mountains, whereas, they were still seen as objects of fear in Europe (Nicholson 1962; Tuan 1974).

Eastern faiths such as Shinto and Taoism 'fostered love of wilderness rather than hatred' (Nash 1982:21). Shinto deified nature in favour of pastoral scenes. The polarity that existed between city and wilderness in the Judaeo-Christian experience did not exist outside European cultural tradition (Callicott 1982). Western civilisation has tended to dominate, rather than adapt, to its surrounding landscape whereas traditional eastern and non-European cultures have tended to attempt to blend into their surroundings. As Tuan (1974:148) noted, 'In the traditions of Taoist China and pre-Dorian Greece, nature imparted virtue or power. In the Christian tradition sanctifying power is invested in man, God's vice regent, rather than nature.' However, it should be emphasised that Oriental civilisations, such as those of China, India and Japan, have had highly destructive impacts on the environment and will continue to do so.

The attitude of different cultures to nature and, hence, wilderness is important (Tuan 1971, 1979). As Eidsvik (1980, 1985) has recognised, wilderness has only recently taken on global meaning with the increasing dominance of Western culture throughout the world. The perception of wilderness as an alien landscape of fear is derived from the Northern European set of attitudes towards nature, where, the Judaeo-Christian perception of nature became combined with the Teutonic fear of the vast northern forests. It is perhaps of no coincidence, therefore, that the creation of designated wilderness areas began in lands occupied by peoples who have inherited European cultural attitudes. However, despite retaining something of its original attributes the meaning of wilderness has changed substantially over-time and now incorporates wider scientific and conservation values. Table 1.1 portrays the development of the wilderness concept in the United States,

Canada, New Zealand and Australia: those countries within which the idea of wilderness has been most influential in outdoor recreation and tourism policy and in the production and consumption of tourism experiences.

The classic example of changing popular attitudes towards wilderness is witnessed in the history of the evolution of the wilderness concept in the United States (Table 1.1). The founding fathers of the American colonies saw the wild lands before them in classical biblical terms, and although attitudes towards wilderness did change gradually through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was not until the late eighteenth century that positive appreciation of American nature began to emerge. The political independence of the American nation found cultural expression in the extolment of the virtues of American natural scenery. However a similar cultural expression was not to be found in colonial Canada where untamed nature still assumed the guise of a landscape of fear (Kline 1970). Nevertheless, America's cultural independence from the Old World produced a desire to laud the moral purity of the wild forests and mountains of the New World, untainted as they were by the domination of things European, a cultural movement which, perhaps somewhat ironically, sprang from the Romantic movement then sweeping Europe.

The American Romantic movement laid the groundwork upon which a popular appreciation of the value of wild land would come to be based. Artistic, literary and political perceptions of the importance of contact with wild nature provided the stimulus for the creation of positive cultural attitudes towards the American wilderness. Once positive attitudes towards primitive, unordered nature had developed then the emergence of individuals and societies dedicated to the preservation of wilderness values was only a short step away. However, an appreciation of the aesthetic values of wild land was countered by the utilitarian ethic that dominated American society.

The majority of Americans saw the land as an object to be conquered and made productive. The first reservations for the preservation of scenery therefore tended to be established in areas that were judged to be wastelands that had no economic value in terms of agriculture, grazing, lumbering or mining. The aesthetic value of wilderness was upheld by national parks and reserves which were intended to protect national scenic monuments that expressed the cultural independence of America in addition to providing for the development of the area through the tourist dollar. Monumentalism was characterised by the belief that natural sites, such as Niagara Falls or the Rockies, were grand, noble and elevated in idea and had something of the enduring, stable and timeless nature of the great architecture of Europe, and proved a significant theme in the establishment of American parks (Runte 1979).

Although the national parks in Australia, Canada and New Zealand did not assume the same importance as national monuments, their development nevertheless parallels that of the American park system. The themes of aesthetic romanticism, recreation and the development of 'worthless' or 'waste' lands through tourism characterised the creation of the first national parks in Australia, Canada and New Zealand. Banff National Park in Canada was developed by the Canadian Pacific Railroad as a tourist spa (March 1985). New Zealand's first parks had lodges and hostels established within them that matched

the tourist developments in the North American parks. Australia's first parks, particularly those of Queensland and Tasmania, were also marked by the influence of the desire of government to boost tourism. However, the Australian parks were also noted for their establishment, in unison with railway development, as areas where city-dwellers could find mental restoration in recreation and communion with nature (Hall 1985, 1992a).

TABLE 1.1: The Development of the Wilderness Concept in the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia

Date	United States	Canada	New Zealand	Australia
1	2	3	4	5
Pre-1860	Major romantic influence of American art and literature			A 'New Britannia'
1832	Joseph Catlin calls for the creation of a 'nation's Park'			Aesthetic and utilitarian visions of the Australian landscape
1832	Arkansas Hot Springs reserved			Rapid clearing of land for agriculture and mining
1851	Transcendentalism—Thoreau's Walking proclaims that 'in Wilderness is the preservation of the World'	Development of a romantic perception of the Canadian landscape		
1860	Romantic Monumentalism			
1864	George Perkins Marsh's <i>Man and Nature</i> is published, heralds the start of 'economic conservation'; Yosemite State Park established			Marsh's book well received in Australia
1870	Wilderness perceived as 'worthless land'			1866 Jenolan Caves reserved
1872	Yellowstone National Park established; John Muir begins writing and campaigning for wilderness preservation		1878 T. Potts publishes <i>National Domains</i> 1881 <i>Thermal Springs Districts Act</i>	The need to conserve forests argued by Clarke, Goyder and von Mueller 'Scientific Vision' 1879 Royal National Park established in New South Wales
1880	Rise of 'Progressive Conservation' led by Gifford Pinchot	1885 Banff Hot Springs Reserve declared	1887 Tongariro ceded to the New Zealand Government	Rise of the 'Bush Idyll' National Parks Associated Recreation and Tourism 'Sydney or the Bush' 1891 <i>National Park Act</i> (S.A.) 1892 <i>Tower Hill National Park Act</i> (Vic.)
1890	F.J. Turner declares the end of the American frontier; Yosemite National Park created with help of railroads; <i>Forests Reserves Act 1891</i>	Strengthening of a romantic vision of nature in Canada and rise of progressive conservation		
1891	National Park created with help of railroads; <i>Forests Reserves Act 1891</i>	1894 Algonquin Park established	1892 J. Matson calls for Australasian Indigenous Parks	
1900	Cult of the Wilderness Tourism a major motive for the establishment of parks in all four countries			
1905	U.S. Forest Service created			1905 <i>State Forests and</i>

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
1910		1911 <i>Dominion Forest Reserves and Parks Act</i>		<i>National Parks Act</i> (Queensland)
1913	Preservationists lose battle to prevent Hetch Hetchy being dammed			1915 <i>Scenery Preservation Act</i> (Tas.)
1916	U.S. National Park Service created			Growth of the 'Bushwalking Movement' under Hyles Dunphy in NSW
1920	Rise of Ecological Perspectives		Negative reaction to introduced animals in National Parks begins	1927 Formation of the National Parks and Primitive Areas Council
	Forest Service areas retained as 'primitive lands'			
1926	Forest Service Wilderness Inventory			
1928	Forest Service Regulation L-20			
1930		1930 <i>National Parks Act</i>		
1934	Everglades National Park established			1934 Greater Blue Mountains National Park Scheme
1937	Formation of the Wilderness Society			Development of Snowy-Indi Proposal (SNW)
1939	Forest Service 'U' Regulations			1944 <i>Kosciusko State Park Act</i>
1940				
1949	Keyser Report			
1950	Dinosaur National Monument Campaign		1952 <i>National Parks Act</i>	
1956	First Wilderness Bill	1955 <i>Wilderness Areas Act</i> (Ontario)	1955 <i>Reserves and Domains Act</i>	1957 Victorian National Park Authority created
1960	ORCC Report			
1962	<i>Wilderness Act</i> becomes law			
1964	Agencies begin implementation			
	RARE I commences		1969 Study tour of National Parks Director to North America	1963 Kosciusko Primitive Area established (NSW)
				1967 NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service created
				Wilderness becomes a major policy issue: Little Desert, Great Barrier Reef, Fraser Island and Lake Pedder
1970	Mounting pressure from tourists and commercial interests in national parks in all countries			
1974	<i>Eastern Wilderness Act</i>			
	RARE II commences		1977 <i>Reserves Act</i>	1975 National Parks and Wildlife Service (Commonwealth) created
	Bureau of Land Management Commences Inventory			
1980	'Sagebrush Rebellion'	Major Conflicts over wilderness preservation	1980 <i>National Parks Act</i>	1982 National Conservation Strategy
	Provision for wilderness in Alaska		1981 Wilderness Advisory Group established	1983 Franklin Dam Case
				1984 Calls for establishment of National Wilderness System
		1984 South Moresby Island campaign	1984 new wilderness areas established	1985 CONCOM discussion paper
			1986 World Heritage listing for South Westland Park	
			1987 Creation of Department of conservation	1987 Federal government acts to preserve the Wet Tropics, Kakadu, and the Lomonsthy and Southern Forests
				1987 NS <i>Wilderness Act</i> passed
1990	Increased attention given to concept of ecotourism and sustainable tourism by governments and industry bodies			

With the closing of the American frontier at the end of the nineteenth century the preservation of America's remaining wilderness received new impetus. A massive but unsuccessful public campaign by wilderness preservationists led by John Muir to protect Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park from a dam scheme, a conservation-minded President (Theodore Roosevelt) in the White House, and the emergence of economically oriented 'progressive conservation' under the leadership of Gifford Pinchot all led to wilderness preservation becoming a matter of public importance in the United States.

The United States Forest Service and National Park Service responded to pressures from recreationalists for the creation of designated wilderness areas. Contemporaneously, the development of the science of ecology led to a recognition of the scientific importance of preserving wilderness. The various elements of wilderness preservation blended together in the inter-war years to lay a framework for the establishment of legally protected wilderness areas.

Economic conservation and the development of a scientific perception of wilderness was also influential in Australia, Canada and New Zealand. In Australia, the publication of George Perkins.

Marsh's (1864-1965) book *Man and Nature* stimulated the colonial governments into establishing forest reserves. In addition, significant scientists such as Baron von Mueller, and bodies such as the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science argued for the preservation of native flora and fauna in both Australia and New Zealand. However, the first national parks in Australia were created for reasons of aesthetics, tourism and recreation with science gaining little recognition (Hall 1992a).

In Canada, progressive conservation proved influential in the creation of forest reserves, and it is significant to note that many of the early Canadian parks were established under forestry legislation. However, the preservation of wilderness lagged behind the efforts of the United States (Nicol 1969).

The declaration of the Wilderness Act in 1964 marked the beginning of the current legislative era of wilderness preservation in the United States. Under the Wilderness Act wilderness is defined as 'an area where the earth and its community of life are untrammelled by man, where, man himself is the visitor that does not remain.' The four defining qualities of wilderness areas protected under the Act are that such areas:

1. generally appear to be affected by the forces of nature, with the imprint of man substantially unnoticeable;
2. have outstanding opportunities for solitude or a primitive and unconfined type of recreation;
3. have at least 5,000 acres or be of sufficient size as to make practical its preservation and use in an unimpaired condition;
4. may also contain ecological, geological or features of scientific, educational, scenic or historical value.

The protection of wilderness through legal means gave new impetus to the task of

improving the process of defining and compiling a wilderness inventory as well as providing for its management, a process that is still continuing today in America as well as in countries such as Australia, which have tended to follow the American model for wilderness and national park protection. Although wilderness in New Zealand is given administrative protection under a variety of acts, there is no specific legislation for the preservation of wilderness. Similarly, until late 1987 with the passing of the New South Wales Wilderness Act, no wilderness legislation had been enacted in Australia (Hall 1992a). In Canada, wilderness areas have received a degree of protection under provincial legislation. However, as in Australia and New Zealand, there is no national wilderness act. Yet, in recent years increasing attention has been given to the implications of international heritage agreements, such as the World Heritage Convention, as a mechanism for the preservation of wilderness and other natural areas of international significance (Hall 1992a).

The environmental history of National Parks and Wilderness Areas

Environmental history is a field concerned with the role and place of nature in human life (Worster 1977). Research and scholarship on the environmental history of national parks and wilderness lies at the intersection of a number of fields of geographic and academic endeavour. Within geography, as with history, the increased awareness of the environment as a social, economic and political issue has led to geographers and historians attempting to chart the history of land use of a given region or site in order to increase understanding of its significance, values and present-day use. Such research is not just an academic exercise. As well as assisting in understanding how current natural resource management problems or user conflicts have developed, such research can also be used to develop interpretive material for visitors as part of a programme of heritage management, an area in which geographers are becoming increasingly involved (*e.g.* Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Hall and McArthur 1996, 1998). Cronan (1990) asserts that good work in environmental history incorporates three levels of analysis. These are the dynamics of natural ecosystems in time (ecology), the political economies that people erect within these systems (economy), and the cognitive lenses through which people perceive those systems (the history of ideas). Geographers, with their integrative approach to environment, cultural landscapes and land use, would therefore seem to be ideally poised to work in this area. As Mark (1996: 153) observed, 'Widening the scope of historical narrative has frequently resulted in more complex interpretation of the past and should point the way toward greater understanding of the past in heritage management.'

National parks are a major focus of heritage management but have been a relatively quiet back-water in traditional historical narrative. Environmental history, however, can place them within the larger context of interaction between nature and culture (Griffiths 1991; Mark 1996). For example, a number of extremely valuable park histories which highlight the role of tourism and outdoor recreation in park development have been written on the Yellowstone (Haines 1977), Grand Canyon (Hughes 1978), Rocky Mountain (Buchholtz 1983), Olympic (Twight 1983), Sequoia and Kings Canyon (Dilsaver and Tweed 1990) and Yosemite (Runte 1990) national parks in the United States; the Albertan (Bella

1987) and the Ontario (Killan 1993) national park systems in Canada, and with useful national overviews being provided by Nelson (1970), Hall (1992a) and Dearden and Rollins (1993).

Substantial methodological research is called for when undertaking research on environmental and park histories. In the New Worlds of North America and the Antipodes, travel accounts written during the period of initial European settlement have been utilised by scholars interested in historic environments (Powell 1978). They often hope to establish a pre-European settlement landscape as a baseline from which to assess subsequent environmental change. One difficulty with using travel accounts, however, is that they are often written in places where the journalist is not actually travelling; instead the diarist is summarising past events at a convenient place (Mark 1996). Another problem is how to tie the usually limited detail (little of which could be utilised quantitatively) to specific localities. The paucity of locality information is often present in even the best accounts, such as those left by collectors of natural history specimens.

The only site-specific records available in many areas about presettlement landscapes are land survey notes. These have been helpful in establishing a historic condition of some forests, riparian habitats and grasslands. Their reliability varies, however, because there can be limitations associated with insufficient description, bias in recording data, contract fraud and land use prior to survey (Galatowitsch 1990). Another technique which is useful for developing a historical record of land use change or for reconstructing past environments or heritage sites is repeat photography (Rogers *et al.* 1984). However, while such techniques may be useful for specific sites or attractions the photographic record of 'ordinary' landscapes, *i.e.*, those which were not subject to the interest of visitors as a view or panorama, is more difficult to construct because of incomplete records.

Cultural landscape documentation is somewhat narrower in scope than environmental history because the question of nature's character is not so central (Mark 1996). Nevertheless, it emphasises change over-time and culture. In a park setting, its emphasis becomes one of design, material, change, function and use, with one of its main effects on heritage management being the broadening of the focus of historic preservation beyond buildings to the associated landscape and environmental context (Mark 1991).

The Values of Wilderness

Decisions affecting environmental policies grow out of a political process (Henning 1971, 1974), in which 'value choice, implicit and explicit...orders the priorities of government and determines the commitment of resources within the public jurisdiction' (Simmons *et al.* 1974:457). Therefore, in order to consider the means by which wilderness is utilised, it is essential to understand what the values of wilderness are. As Henning (1987:293) observed: 'In the end, the survival of the wilderness will depend upon values being a respected factor in the political and governmental process.'

The value of wilderness is not static. The value of a resource alters over-time in accordance with changes in the needs and attitudes of society. As noted above, ideas of the values of primitive and wild land have shifted in relation to the changing perceptions

of western culture. Nevertheless, the dynamic nature of the wilderness resource does not prevent an assessment of its values as they are seen in present-day society. Indeed, such an evaluation is essential to arguments as to why wilderness should be conserved.

Broadly defined, the values of wilderness may be classified as being either anthropocentric or biocentric in nature. The principal emphasis of the anthropocentric approach is that the value of wilderness emerges in its potential for direct human use. In contrast, 'the biocentric perspective places primary emphasis on the preservation of the natural order.' The former approach places societal above ecological values and emphasises recreational and aesthetic rather than environmental qualities. Both perspectives focus on human benefits. However, 'the important distinction between them is the extent to which these benefits are viewed as being independent of the naturalness of wilderness ecosystems' (Hendee *et al.* 1978: 18).

A more radical, and increasingly, popular, interpretation of the notion of the value of wilderness has been provided by what is often termed a deep ecology perspective (Godfrey-Smith 1979, 1980; Nash 1990; Oelschlaeger 1991). Deep ecologists argue that wilderness should be held as valuable not just because it satisfies a human need (instrumental value) but as an end in itself (intrinsically valuable). Instrumental anthropocentric values, derived from a Cartesian conception of nature, are regarded as being opposed to a holistic or systematic view 'in which we come to appreciate the symbiotic interdependencies of the natural world' (Godfrey-Smith 1979:316). The holistic view broadly corresponds with the ecological conception of wilderness (Worester 1977; Nash 1990; Oelschlaeger 1991). However, it goes further by arguing that 'the philosophical task is to try and provide adequate justification...for a scheme of values according to which concern and sympathy for our environment is immediate and natural, and the desirability of protecting and preserving wilderness self-evident' (Godfrey-Smith 1979:316), rather than justified purely according to human needs.

We can, however, provide—and it is important that we do so—an answer to the question: 'What is the use of wilderness?' We certainly ought to preserve and protect wilderness areas as gymnasiums, as laboratories, as stockpiles of genetic diversity and as cathedrals. Each of these reasons provides a powerful and sufficient instrumental justification for their preservation. But note how the very posing of this question about the utility of wilderness reflects an anthropocentric system of values. From a genuinely ecocentric point of view the question, 'What is the use of wilderness?' would be as absurd as the question, 'What is the use of happiness?' (Godfrey-Smith 1979:319).

Hendee *et al.* (1978) identified three consistent themes in the values associated with wilderness: experiential, mental and moral restorational, and scientific. Experiential values highlight the importance of the 'wilderness experience' for recreationists and tourists (Scott 1974; Hamilton-Smith 1980; McKenry 1980). Several themes emerge in an examination of the wilderness experience including the aesthetic, the spiritual and the escapist (Table 1.2). Given its essentially personal nature, the wilderness experience is extremely difficult to define (Scott 1974). Nevertheless, the values recorded from writings on wilderness listed in Table 1.2 do point to the various aspects of the wilderness experience

that are realised in human contact with wild and primitive lands.

TABLE 1.2: Components of the Wilderness Experience

<i>Component</i>	<i>Nature of experience</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Aesthetic appreciation	Appreciation of wild nature	Leopold 1921, 1925; Marshall 1930; McKenry 1972a; Smith 1977; Hamilton-Smith 1980; Alexander 1984; Nash 1990.
Religious	The experience of God in the wilderness	McKenry 1972a; Hendee <i>et al.</i> 1978; Wright 1980; Hamilton-Smith 1980; Nash 1990.
Escapist	Finding freedom away from the constraints of city living	McKenry 1972a; Smith 1977; Hendee <i>et al.</i> 1978; Hamilton-Smith 1980; Hawes 1981.
Challenge	The satisfaction that occurs in overcoming dangerous situations and fully utilising physical skills	McKenry 1972a; Smith 1977; Gardner 1978; Hamilton-Smith 1980; Warboys 1980.
Historic/Romantic	The opportunity to re-live or imagine the experiences of pioneers of the 'frontier' that formed national culture	Leopold 1925; Smith 1977; Hamilton-Smith 1980; Ride 1980; Alexander 1984; Johnston 1985
Solitude	The pleasure of being alone in a wild setting	Lee 1977; Smith 1977; Hamilton-Smith 1980; Hawes 1981; Sinclair 1986.
Companionship	Paradoxically, in relation to the previous category, the desire to share the setting with companions	Lee 1977; Smith 1977; Hamilton-Smith 1980.
Discovery/Learning	The thrill of discovering or learning about nature in a natural setting	Smith 1977; Gardner 1978; Hamilton-Smith 1980.
Vicarious appreciation	The pleasure of knowing that wilderness exists without actually ever having seen it	McKenry 1977; Smith 1977; Hawes 1981; Johnston 1985.
Technology	Influence of technological change on outdoor activities	Marsh and Wall 1982.

Associated with the values of the wilderness experience is the idea that wilderness can provide mental and moral restoration for the individual in the face of modern civilisation (Carhart 1920; Boyden and Harris 1978). This values wilderness as a 'reservoir for renewal of mind and spirit' and in some cases offers 'an important sanctuary into which one can withdraw, either temporarily or permanently, to find respite' (Hendee *et al.* 1978:12). This harks back to the biblical role of wilderness as a place of spiritual renewal (Funk 1959) and the simple life of Thoreau's Walden Pond (Thoreau 1854 (1968)). The encounter with wilderness is regarded as forcing the individual to rise to the physical

challenge of wilderness with corresponding improvements in feelings of self-reliance and self-worth. As Ovington and Fox (1980:3) wrote: in the extreme', wilderness:

Generates a feeling of absolute aloneness, a feeling of sole dependence on one's own capacities as new sights, smells and tastes are encountered...The challenge and the refreshing and recreating power of the unknown are provided by unadulterated natural wilderness large enough in space for us to get 'lost in. Here it is possible once again to depend upon our own personal faculties and to hone our bodies and spirits.

The third major theme in the values associated with wilderness is that of the scientific values of wilderness. Table 1.3 identifies the various ways in which wilderness is of importance to science.

The preservation of wilderness is regarded as an essential component in the scientific study of the environment and man's impact on the environment. Furthermore, wilderness has increasingly come to assume tremendous economic importance because of the value of the genetic material that it contains. However, the multi dimensional nature of the wilderness resource may lead to value conflicts over the use of wilderness areas.

A fourth theme which is inherent in the values of wilderness is that of economic worth. In addition to the economic significance of genetic resources, wilderness has importance as a tourist and recreation attraction. Indeed, the economic valuation of wilderness and natural areas has now become a critical factor in their designation (Hall 1992a), although it should be noted that the economic value of tourism has long been used to justify national park creation in areas that would otherwise be deemed worthless (Runte 1972a, 1972b, 1973, 1974a, 1974b, 1977, 1979). Such a value may also be enhanced through international recognition such as that achieved through listing as a World Heritage site (Mosley 1983).

McKenry (1977) has provided an analysis of the degree to which the values of wilderness are disrupted by activities such as forestry, mining, grazing and road construction. Table 1.4, based on McKenry's research, records the level of compatibility between wilderness values and common disruptive activities. The significant factor which emerges from Table 1.4 is that because of the intrinsic characteristics of wilderness as primitive and remote land the range of uses that can occur within wilderness areas without diminishing the values of wilderness is extremely limited and will require careful management. As soon as the characteristics of the wilderness resource are infringed through the activities of western man then wilderness values are reduced. Emphasis is placed upon the impacts of Western society, rather than those of technologically underdeveloped peoples, because as the following discussion will illustrate, the present-day concept of wilderness is a product of western thought. Indeed, geographers such as Nelson (1982, 1986) have argued for the adoption of a human—ecological approach to wilderness and park management which sees the incorporation of the attitudes and practices of indigenous peoples as being an essential part of a contemporary perspective on the notion of wilderness.

TABLE 1.3: The Scientific Values of Wilderness

Value	Description
Genetic resources/biodiversity	Large natural communities such as those provided for in wilderness areas can serve as sources of genetic materials which are potentially useful to man. As more of the world's natural ecosystems are removed or simplified the remaining natural areas will assume even greater importance as storehouses of genetic material.
Ecological research and biological monitoring	Wilderness areas provide protection for large natural ecosystems. Within these areas a variety of research on ecological processes can occur. Research may consist of ecosystem dynamics, comparative ecology, ethology, surveys of fauna and flora, and the relationship of base ecological data to environmental change.
Environmental baselines	Wilderness areas, representative of particular biomes, can be used as reference areas in the monitoring of anthrenmentic change both within the biome and on a global scale.
The evolutionary continuum	Wilderness areas provide the conditions in which the evolutionary continuum of adoption, extinction and speciation can occur without the direct interference of humans.
Long-term	Wilderness areas provide conditions in which flora and fauna conservation can occur, particularly for those species which require large territories to reproduce and be preserved.

Sources: Smith (1977); Frankel (1978); Hendee *et al.* (1978); Hall (1992a)

Identifying Wilderness

Although the values of wilderness are well recognised, for management and legislative purposes such values need to be turned into a method by which wilderness values can be mapped in space. In addition, such a process can assist in the provision of conservation, scientific and tourism information, technical advice, recognition of management issues and objectives, the integration of conservation and development, and the design of a national conservation system.

According to Dasmann's (1973:12) classification of national parks and equivalent reserves, wilderness areas have two principal purposes: 'that of protecting nature (defined as primary) and that of providing recreation for those capable of enduring the vicissitudes of wilderness travel by primitive means.' These purposes reflect the values of wilderness identified in the previous section. 'The area is maintained in a state in which its wilderness or primitive appearance is not impaired by any form of development, and in which the continued existence of indigenous animal and plant species is assured' (Dasmann 1973:12). However, unlike some of the use limitations of strict natural areas, wilderness is available to recreationists.

TABLE 1.4: Interactions between Values Associated with Wilderness and Common Disruptive Activities

<i>Common disruptive activities</i>	<i>Water resources</i>	<i>Traditional aboriginal habitat</i>	<i>Wildlife resources and habitat</i>	<i>Plant resources and habitat</i>	<i>Research and education</i>	<i>Wilderness recreation resources</i>	<i>Vicarious appreciation of wilderness pool</i>	<i>Reserve resource</i>
Hydro	1-2	5	3-4	3-4	4-5	4-5	4-5	4-5
Forestry	3-4	5	3-4	3-4	3-4	4-5	4-5	2-3
Mining	3-4	5	3-4	3-4	3-4	4-5	5	4-5
Agriculture	3-4	5	3-4	4-5	3-4	5	5	4-5
Grazing	3-4	4-5	2-3	3-4	2-3	3-4	3-4	2-3
Road	2-3	4-5	2-3	2-3	2-3	4-5	4-5	2-3
Tourism	3-4	5	3-4	2-3	2-3	4-5	4-5	2-3
Off-road	2-3	4-5	2-3	2-3	2-3	4-5	2-3	1-2

Scale of disruption to wilderness values

1. No incompatible interaction (*i.e.* mutually compatible)
2. Slightly incompatible
3. Substantial incompatibility
4. Slight compatibility only
5. Totally incompatible (compatibility exclusive)

Source: Adapted from McKenry (1977:209)

Insight: National Parks and Indigenous Peoples

National parks are a western concept (Nash 1967, 1982). National parks have their origins in the New World desire to conserve nature and appropriately aesthetic landscapes for economic development through tourism (Hall 1992a; 2000b). Until recently, the creation of national parks was marked by the exclusion of aboriginal populations as undesirable elements in the 'natural' landscape. The drawing of boundaries between the natural parks and the rural human landscape available for agriculture, forestry, mining and/or grazing reflecting the Cartesian divide of Western society has long sought to separate civilisation and wilderness. However, over the past three decades the separation between natural and cultural heritage has come to be seen as increasingly artificial. In part, this has been due to the renaissance of aboriginal and indigenous cultures in the New Worlds of North America and Australasia as well as greater assertion of native cultural values in post-colonial societies in Africa. Such developments have had enormous influence not only on the ways in which parks are managed but also on how they are established and recreated for tourist consumption.

The influence of the Romantic movement on the establishment of national parks was extremely significant (Hall 1992a). For example, the first call for the establishment of

national parks in the US came in 1832 from an artist, George Catlin, who on seeing the slaughter of buffalo on the great Plains described the waste of animals and humankind to be a 'melancholy contemplation', but he found it 'splendid' when he imagined that there might be in the future '(by some great protecting policy of government). . . a magnificent park', which preserved the Animal and the North American Indian 'in their pristine beauty and wildness.' 'What a beautiful and thrilling specimen for America to preserve and hold up to the view of her refined citizens and the world, in future ages ! A nation's Park, containing man and beast, in all the wild and freshness of their nature's beauty !' Catlin's seminal call for 'a nation's park' highlighted the new mood in America towards wilderness. Almost exactly 40 years after Catlin's journal entry, President Ulysses S. Grant signed an Act establishing Yellowstone Park, creating the institution of which Catlin desired 'the reputation of having been the founder' (Catlin 1968:8, 9).

Similarly, John Matson (1892) compared the efforts made in New Zealand to protect wildlife with the absence of such attempts in the Australian colonies and appealed for the creation of 'indigenous parks' in order to preserve the animal and bird life of Australasia. Significantly, Matson quoted a New Zealand 'poet', George Phipps Williams, to conclude his case for the preservation of wildlife and their habitat, in a manner which is reminiscent of Catlin:

Out in the wilderness is there no desolate space,
Which you may spare to the brutes of indigenous race ?
Grant us the shelter we need from the pitiless chase.
Gone are the stateliest forms of the apteryx kind,
Short is the space that the kiwi is lagging behind;
Soon you shall painfully seek what you never shall find.

(George Phipps Williams, *A Plea of Despair*, in Matson 1892:359)

Williams' comments, alongwith those of Catlin, seem ill at ease with political and cultural sensibilities at the beginning of the twenty-first century. However, in the late nineteenth century such sentiments were common-place. Maori, alongwith other aboriginal peoples were seen as the remnant of a dying race and placing them in parks and reserves, so long as the land was not required for other economic purposes, was often seen as the most appropriate course of action. Despite the initial Romantic sentiments which helped create the momentum for the establishment of parks, humans, including the aboriginal peoples who had often created the park landscapes through their hunting and food-gathering practices, were excluded from the parks through loss of ownership and access rights, management and regulatory actions and policing strategies. Such measures were the result of ecological and cultural blindness at best and outright racism and cultural imperialism at worst, with park boundaries serving as the demarcation between the natural and the cultural in European eyes.

Although the political status of aboriginal peoples is still a highly contested issue

in many societies, substantial shifts have occurred in management practices with respect to aboriginal peoples and their role in national parks over the past 100 years. A number of broad social and political factors in relation to the overall rights of aboriginal peoples have contributed to these changes, including:

- a renaissance of aboriginal culture in a number of Western countries which has led to renewed pride in traditional cultural practices;
- the withdrawal of colonial powers in African and Asian states and the development of new modes of administration and management;
- the assertion of ownership of and/or access to natural resources through treaty settlements and other legal channels;
- changed government policies with respect to native peoples which has led to greater economic and political self-determination;
- greater political influence of aboriginal peoples.

The management of national parks has been substantially affected and a number of changes have occurred at the micro-level in parallel to the shifts which have occurred at the macro-political level. Hall (2000c) identified several factors:

- a recognition that many supposedly 'natural' landscapes are the product of a long period of aboriginal occupancy which has created a series of ecological conditions and relationships which are dependent on certain types of human behaviour. This means that the traditional knowledge of native peoples becomes a vital ingredient in effective ecosystem management;
- growth of the tourist appeal of some indigenous cultural attractions.
- greater emphasis by park management authorities on the role of various stakeholder groups, including native peoples, in park management and the development of appropriate co-operative management strategies;
- changed park management practices and strategies which are aimed at specifically satisfying the concerns and needs of native peoples including, in some cases, the management of national park lands owned by native peoples which are then leased to park management agencies.

Dasmann's recognition of wilderness as a discrete landuse category did not appear in the IUCN's (1978) eventual categorisation of conservation areas. However, this does not imply that wilderness has only minimal value as a form of conservation land use. Rather it is a recognition of the difficulties in transferring the notion of wilderness from a North American to a more universal setting (Eidsvik 1985). Nevertheless, increased public awareness of the environment, sustainable development, World Heritage areas, Biosphere Reserves and other sites of international conservation significance highlight the worldwide attention given to the preservation of the earth's remaining wilderness areas. Indeed, the IUCN General Assembly in 1984 recommended 'that all nations identify, designate and protect their wilderness areas on both public and private lands' (Resolution 16/34 in Eidsvik 1987:19). Yet such measures need to have a basis by which wilderness may be

identified if it is to succeed. Although a wilderness inventory has been undertaken in the United States, probably the most sustained research programme on wilderness identification occurred in Australia, and it is to this case study that we now turn.

Case Study: Wilderness Inventory in Australia

One of the key elements in preserving wilderness is the identification of areas of high-quality wilderness that can be incorporated into a national wilderness system. In 1985 the Australian Conservation Foundation and other conservation groups, particularly the Wilderness Society, led the Working Group on Management of National Parks of the Australian Council of Nature and Conservation Ministers (CONCOM) to examine the establishment of a nationwide system of wilderness areas. CONCOM (1985:7) recommended that 'an inventory of potential wilderness areas should be compiled by all states and territories, where possible in consultation with user groups. The inventory would assess areas within existing parks and extend to other land if appropriate. It would be desirable for a consistent approach to be adopted for the surveys.' However, the hopes of CONCOM were not met. Despite both the quality and quantity of research, no consistent approach to evaluating wilderness in Australia has been accepted by all participants in the process of wilderness identification and management, although the Australian Heritage Commission's National Wilderness Inventory Program came closest. This situation may be due to the academic nature of most wilderness research, the geographic differences between regions, the politics of wilderness preservation, or it may well derive from the intrinsic intangibility of wilderness (Hall 1987, 1992a). Nevertheless, the identification of primitive and remote areas will obviously be critical to the protection and management of wilderness.

Wilderness Inventories

Planners and managers, now require detailed information to assist in the identification of areas suitable for designation and protection as wilderness, to monitor the status of the resource, and to develop appropriate and effective management prescriptions. There is also a need for the capacity to assess the impact on wilderness of various development proposals so that alternatives may be examined and a suitable response determined.

(Lesslie *et al.* 1988a:iv)

Definition is the major problem in the inventory of wilderness. The definition, and its accompanying criteria, provide the source from which all else flows. Two different conceptions of wilderness are generally recognised, on anthropocentric, the other biocentric or ecocentric (see p. 258). From the anthropocentric view, wilderness is seen from a perspective in which human needs are considered paramount. Adherents of this approach tend to ascribe a recreational role to wilderness. In contrast, the biocentric approach defines 'wilderness in ecological terms and [equates] wilderness quality with a relative lack of human disturbance' (Lesslie and Taylor 1983:10).

The recreational values of wilderness have tended to be dominant in wilderness literature (Hendee *et al.* 1978). This is partly the result of the 'Americanisation' of the

wilderness concept, where the predominantly recreational perspective of American research has coloured most other studies, but it is also probably related to the way in which the wilderness concept has developed (Nash 1963; Smith 1977; Stankey 1989; Oelschlaeger 1991). Nevertheless, over recent years the biocentric concept of wilderness has become increasingly important in research. This increased priority is most likely related to the growth of importance of ecological research relative to recreational research in national park and reserve management and to a recognition that fauna and flora have an intrinsic right to exist (Nash 1990).

Table 1.5 demonstrates the major features of the wilderness inventories that had been carried out in Australia up until the early 1990s, by which time the methodology for the National Wilderness Inventory supported by the Australian Heritage Commission had become well developed. For each inventory the study area, wilderness definition, dimensional criteria, status of coastal areas, database and status of roadworks is recorded. The status of roadworks criterion is included because it provides a basis of comparison with the 'roadless area' concept which permeates American notions of wilderness and also illustrates one of the major problems in standardising wilderness criteria (Bureau of Land Management 1978). As Leslie and Taylor (1983: 23) observed, 'road definition is a major point of contention in the general wilderness literature. Controversy centres on the qualities which make a high grade road an unacceptable intrusion into wilderness and a low grade road a detrimental but nevertheless acceptable intrusion.'

The first Australian study of wilderness of any consequence, the wilderness study of Eastern New South Wales and South-East Queensland by Helman *et al.* (1976; Jones 1978) was designed as a model for future Australian wilderness inventories and it was applied in Victoria (Feller *et al.* 1979) and Tasmania (Russell *et al.* 1979). However, the inventory procedures may not be valid for arid and semi-arid environments because they were undertaken in relatively humid, forested and mountainous environments (Leslie and Taylor 1983); also, they failed to recognise the remanence and primitiveness which constitute the key qualities of wilderness (Mark 1985). Stanton and Morgan's (1977) study of Queensland identified four key areas as fitting rigid conservation-based criteria. Twenty-four other areas were identified as being 'equivalent to the wilderness areas delineated by Helman *et al.* (1976) in their study of Eastern Australia' (Morgan 1980).

Kirkpatrick's (1980) study of South-West Tasmania identified wilderness as a recreational resource, 'as land remote from access by mechanised vehicles, and from within which there is little or no consciousness of the environmental disturbance of western man' (Kirkpatrick and Haney 1980:331). Kirkpatrick assigned absolute wilderness quality scores, which had not been attempted in Australian wilderness inventories, although it was characteristic of American ones. However, unlike the United States inventories, Kirkpatrick focused on the more readily quantifiable characteristics of wilderness: remoteness and primitiveness.

Remoteness and primitiveness are the two essential attributes of wilderness (Helburn 1977). Remoteness is measured 'as the walking time from the nearest access point for mechanised vehicles' while primitiveness, which 'has visual, aural and mental components', is 'determined from measures of the arc of visibility of any disturbance . . .

TABLE 1.5: Australian Wilderness Inventories

1	2	3	4	5	6
Study and area	Definitions of wilderness	Dimensional criteria	Status of coastal areas	Status of roadworks	Database
Helman <i>et al.</i> 1976: Eastern New South Wales and South-East Queensland	Large area of land perceived to be natural, where genetic diversity and aural cycles remain essentially unaltered	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A minimum core area of 25,000 ha; • a core area free of major indentations; • a core area of at least 10 km in width; and • a management (buffer) zone surrounding the core of about 25,000 ha or more. 	Coastal areas were not required to meet the dimensional criteria as rigidly as inland areas, due to their linear characteristics and the type of ecosystems and recreation they support.	If roads do not seriously impair the user's perception of the wilderness or the natural functioning of the ecosystem and use can be controlled by management, their presence to a limited degree should not preclude wilderness status.	LandSat images in conjunction with DNM 1:250,000 maps. Aerial reconnaissance to check results.
Station and Morgan 1977: Queensland	An extensive pristine area with extremely limited access.	Size based on a core area defined as a day's walk from any access point. A minimum wilderness area (with no core) of about 40,000 ha.	No specific criteria.	Roadworks are incompatible with the strict definition of wilderness.	Aerial photographs of approximately 1:34,000. 1:1,000,000 maps.
Feller <i>et al.</i> 1979: Victoria	As for Helman <i>et al.</i>	As for Helman <i>et al.</i> , with special criteria for semi-arid and mountain wilderness, a minimum area of about 150,000 ha for semi-arid wilderness and 30,000 ha for mountain wilderness.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minimum area as close as possible to 50,000 ha; it may be smaller if • the core area is free of major indentations; • there is a buffer on the landward side of the core; • there is a reasonable length of coast included in the core. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All two-wheel drive roads and substantial four-wheel drive tracks were excluded from the core. Substantial tracks were included only if they were dead-end and not often used. • sealed and gravel roads were excluded from the core and buffer; and • an acceptable density of tracks was determined for each wilderness. 	DNM 1:100,000 maps, aerial photographs at 1:20,000 to 1:50,000. Additional information from Forests Commission, National Parks Service and Land Conservation Council maps. Some field checking was carried out.
Russell <i>et al.</i> 1979: Tasmania	As for Helman <i>et al.</i>	As for Helman <i>et al.</i> , with special attention to exclusion of intrusions and the use of natural topographic boundaries to determine core area boundaries. Minimum area of approximately	The core of a wilderness area with a coastal boundary may extend to the coastline with an as yet undefined buffer zone extending into the surrounding coastal waters.	The buffer zone boundary excluded all formed access roads and high density or high-impact vehicular tracks. Vehicular roads and tracks were excluded from the inner core	Lands Department 1:500,000, 1:250,000 geographic and 1:100,000 topographic maps. Land tenure maps at 1:100,000 and 1:250,000. Aerial photographs at

(contd)

1	2	3	4	5	6
		10,000 ha were also identified and delineated.		wilderness areas.	1:50,000. Some field checking.
Kirkpatrick 1980: South-West Tasmania	An area of land remote from access by mechanised vehicles and within which there is little or no consciousness of the environmental disturbances of western man.	Wilderness was assumed to exist in relatively undisturbed environments of places greater than 5 km or more from access point or human disturbance. Wilderness quality scores were derived from mathematical functions which represent the relationship between the intensity of the wilderness experience, the time/distance from the access point or nearest sign of human disturbance, and the proportion of the area of visibility, occupied by signs of human disturbance.	No special consideration.	No roadworks are included in wilderness areas.	Lands Department 1:100,000 and 1:250,000 map series. Additional information from the National Parks and Wildlife Service and the South West Tasmanian Resource Survey.
Lesslie and Taylor 1983: South Australia	Land which is remote from and undisturbed by the presence and influences of settled people.	Wilderness quality was scaled according to four indicators: remoteness from settlement, remoteness from access, aesthetic primitiveness and bio-physical primitiveness. Wilderness quality was then expressed as classes: very high, high or moderately high. Additive and weighted ranked sites according to their wilderness value. High-quality wilderness could then be distinguished.	No special consideration. aesthetic disturbances. Wilderness quality	High-grade roads were regarded as access points while low-grade roads were treated as topographic series and South Australian Royal Relics to the density of linear structures (such as roadworks) per unit area. Four-wheel drive transport was seen as appropriate wilderness travel mode in arid and semi-arid area.	DNM 1:250,000 and 1:100,000 topographic series, Department of Lands 1:50,000 to topographic series and South Australian Royal running Automobile Association Touring maps.
Hawes and Heatley 1985: Tasmania	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> largely free of evidence of human artifacts, activity and disturbance; remote from 	Land whose direct remoteness (the map distance between that point and the nearest intrusion) and access	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regular use of mechanised vehicles is regarded as a major intrusion; and no special provision 	The following were regarded as major intrusions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> all roads, and all vehicular tracks 	1:100,000 maps of Tasmania and 1:500,000 vegetation map of Tasmania; primitive country and

(contd)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Leslie <i>et al.</i> 1987 Preece and Leslie 1987: Victoria	substantial human artifacts and areas where there is substantial human activity or disturbance; and • remote of access.	remoteness (the minimum time separation between that point and any access point) and d and t respectively, for a suitable choice of valued (km) and t (hours and days).	was made for the use of coastal areas by mechanised vehicles as it was assumed that use was still low due to the relative inaccessibility.	accessible to and frequently used by off- road vehicles; • all areas where mechanised transport is intensively used or where the use of such transport has likely to lead to the formation of permanent tracks or cause long-term disturbance.	wilderness were identified manually on 1:500,000 maps.
Leslie <i>et al.</i> 1988: Tasmania	As for Leslie <i>et al.</i> 1987	Modification of Leslie and Taylor methodology for ease of digitising, storing and spatially organising wilderness quality indicators through a grid cell framework. (National Wilderness Inventory State I).	No special consideration.	Three grades of road and track access were distinguished according to the level of access and the degree of use: major two-wheel-drive roads, minor two-wheel- drive roads; and four- wheel-drive tracks.	DNM 1:100,000 topographic maps, Department of Conservation Forests and Land regional maps, RAC Victoria Guide maps, governmental reports, land tenure information and personal knowledge. National 1:250,000 topographic mapping grid of Tasmania, 1:100,000 topographic map topographic series, RAC Tasmania touring information, Forestry Commission 1:100,000 maps, largescale aerial photography, Forestry Commission Tasmania GIS Forest type database.
Leslie, Abrahams and	As for Leslie <i>et al.</i>	National Wilderness Inventory Stage II, as for Leslie <i>et al.</i> 1987.	No special consideration.	As for Leslie <i>et al.</i> 1987.	National 1:250,000

(contd)

1	2	3	4	5	6
		1987.	Inventory Stage III.	consideration.	topographical mapping grid.
	Maslen 1991: Cape York Peninsula, Queensland				
	Leslie, Maslen, Costy, Goodwin and Shields 1991: Kangaroo Island, South Australia	As for Leslie <i>et al.</i> 1987.	National Wilderness Inventory: South Australia.	Lakes, rivers and oceans included as natural bodies.	1:100,000 map series, Department of Lands 1:50,000 map series.
	Manidus Roberts Consultants 1991: Western New South Wales	A wilderness area is a large tract of land remote at its core from access and settlement, substantially unmodified by modern technological society or capable of being restored to that state, and of sufficient size to make practical the long-term protection of its natural system.	Combination of Helman <i>et al.</i> and National Wilderness Inventory methodology in order to indicate prospective wilderness areas.	Not applicable.	Literature review, contacts within the network of conservation groups, 1:100,000 scale maps, by NATMAP and the Central Mapping Authority.
				A paved road excludes the surrounding land from a wilderness area classification. Tracks and loose surface roads are acceptable in small quantities, because it is possible to reduce the impact and restore the wilderness value. Walking tracks and maintenance tracks impacts are not considered to reduce wilderness value substantially.	In addition to the three grades utilised in previous National Wilderness Inventory stages a fourth grade of access was distinguished: very low-constructed but 'established but unconstructed vehicle access routes (e.g. beach lines; established walking tracks; cleared land' (p. 10)

DNM: Division of National Mapping

RAC: Royal Automobile Club

Source: Hall (1992a: 12-17)

and the distance to the nearest disturbance' (Kirkpatrick and Haney 1980:331). The identification of remoteness and primitiveness as the essential attributes of a wilderness area helped create the methodological basis for the wilderness inventory of South Australia by Lesslie and Taylor (1983, 1985) and provides the basis for a national survey of wilderness.

Lesslie and Taylor (1983) saw previous wilderness inventory procedures as unsatisfactory because they sought to express a relative concept in absolute terms. They identified four indicators of wilderness quality: remoteness from settlement, remoteness from access, aesthetic primitiveness (or naturalness) and biophysical primitiveness (or naturalness). These indicators were used to provide an inventory of relatively high-quality wilderness areas in South Australia. The attributes of remoteness and primitiveness may be expressed as part of a continuum which indicates the relative wilderness quality of a region (Figure 1.1). A continuum approach can accommodate the ecological and recreational characteristics of a far wider range of environments than can the inventories formulated for the higher rainfall areas of Australia (Lesslie and Taylor 1983; Hall and Mark 1985; Hall 1987; Lesslie *et al.* 1987; Lesslie 1991; Manidis Roberts Consultants 1991).

The variation in approaches to wilderness inventory in Australia is 'systematic of confusion concerning the definition of wilderness, since areas which satisfy biocentric considerations need not be consistent with areas which satisfy anthropocentric considerations' (Lesslie and Taylor 1983:11). The area required to satisfy recreational criteria for wilderness may be much smaller than the area required for maintaining the ecological balance of a region (Valentine 1980). Therefore, the experiential criterion for wilderness remains substantially different to ecological criterion and the concept of 'wilderness experience' must be separated from that of 'wilderness area.' As Lesslie and Taylor (1983:14) observed, there has been an 'almost universal tendency to confuse the *benefits derived from wilderness with the nature of wilderness itself*, a point of crucial importance in the delineation, inventory and management of wilderness. Hence, the two attributes which are definitive of wilderness, *remoteness* from the presence and influences of settled people, and *primitiveness*, the absence of environmental disturbance by settled people, need to be

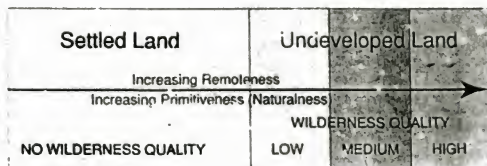


Figure 1.1 wilderness continuum

Source: Hall (1992a)

based at the high-quality end of the wilderness continuum in order to accommodate the anthropocentric and biocentric dimensions of wilderness (Taylor 1990; Lesslie 1991). In Australia, the methodology of Lesslie and Taylor (1983), and modified in the 1987 Victorian inventory (Lesslie *et al.* 1987; Preece and Lesslie 1987), comes closest to achieving this goal and has served as the model for other studies within the Australian Heritage Commission's National Wilderness Inventory (see below). Furthermore, Lesslie *et al.*'s (1987) methodology is able to indicate low-quality wilderness areas which are not indicated in an inventory along the lines of Helman *et al.* (1976), but which may nevertheless be of significant conservation and recreation value (Hall 1987).

In 1987 the Australian government, through the Australian heritage Commission, initiated a National Wilderness Inventory (NWI) to provide information in order to improve decisions about wilderness conservation (Lesslie *et al.* 1991b). This action was 'a result of its concern over the rapid decline in area and quality of relatively remote and natural lands in Australia and in recognition that an inventory of the remaining resource was the necessary first step in formulating appropriate measures for conservation and management' (Lesslie *et al.* 1991a:1). The NWI had three main emphases (Lesslie *et al.* 1988a): to compile a national wilderness database; to refine database maintenance procedures and analytical techniques; and to produce information relevant to policy and management issues. Several inventories were conducted under the auspices of the National Wilderness Inventory, including surveys of Victoria (Lesslie *et al.* 1987; Preece and Lesslie 1987); Tasmania (Lesslie *et al.* 1988a); South Australia (Lesslie *et al.* 1991b); and Queensland (Lesslie *et al.* 1991a). In 1990 the NWI was accelerated to provide a comprehensive coverage for the whole of Australia.

'The evaluation of wilderness in the National Wilderness Inventory is based upon the notion of wilderness quality as a continuum of remote and natural conditions from pristine to urban' (Lesslie *et al.* 1991b:6). A spatial framework utilising the techniques of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) is used to sample variation in values of the four wilderness quality indicators. There are two major advantages in using a GIS to formulate wilderness evaluation databases. First, the approach is open-ended: new data may be added and current data modified. Indeed, in Australia, 'information about access and landuse is often poorly recorded and lacking in currency. Even the most recently available information may be inaccurate and out of date. This makes the compilation of a reliable database difficult, particularly because of the necessary dependence on published sources for much of the required information' (Lesslie *et al.* 1991b:13). Second, the process is spatially flexible, enabling scale to be matched to purpose. Furthermore, maps showing the distribution of wilderness identified in the inventory can be generated rapidly and efficiently in order to assist decision-making.

From Identification to Preservation

The purpose of wilderness inventory in Australia has, on the whole, been to identify areas of wilderness quality for the possible enactment of conservation measures by government. Inventories provide a systematic means of ensuring the designation areas of high environmental quality. 'Recognition of wilderness is the necessary first step towards

protecting, appreciating and managing wilderness areas' (Manidis Roberts Consultants 1991:2). However, identifying an area as wilderness does not, by itself, ensure that its wilderness qualities can be maintained; this may only be done through the appropriate legislation and management. 'Decisions of this kind are inevitably judgemental, requiring comparative assessments of the social worth of alternative and often conflicting land use opportunities' (Lesslie *et al.* 1988a:v). Nevertheless, from a management perspective:

The delimitation of wilderness management boundaries for any particular location is a separate question. The major point to be made here is that the commonly accepted practice of placing a wilderness management boundary around a location of high wilderness quality, and ensuring no wilderness degrading activities take place within, will not ensure the retention of high wilderness quality. For instance, a development is lesser quality wilderness on the margin of an area of higher quality wilderness will reduce wilderness quality within the higher quality area. The lesson to be drawn from this is that areas of lower quality wilderness which fringe areas of high quality are important in maintaining these quality areas. In order to ensure protection of wilderness quality a wilderness management area, therefore, must include all marginal areas.

(Lesslie *et al.* 1991b:20)

CONCOM (1986:8) proposed that the following key criteria be used to identify and evaluate land which has potential as a wilderness area:

- Remoteness and size: a large area, preferably in excess of 25,000 hectares, where visitors may experience remoteness from roads and other facilities.
- Evidence of people: an area with minimal evidence of alteration by modern technology.

However, CONCOM (1985) was not sure that these criteria would reflect differences in landscape and ecological diversity across Australia. The CONCOM criteria may be contrasted with the United States wilderness legislation which suggests as a guideline for minimum wilderness size an area of 5,000 acres (2,023 ha), and where impacted ecosystems may be included if they contribute to the viability and integrity of the wilderness area. One of the ironies of the criteria for wilderness identification chosen by CONCOM is that they exclude many of the wilderness areas that have already been established under state legislation ! According to CONCOM (1986:4), 'Wilderness areas are established to provide opportunities for the visitor to enjoy solitude, inspiration and empathy with his or her natural surroundings.' The CONCOM position is to preserve the 'wilderness experience', not necessarily the intrinsic qualities of wilderness. However, to preserve wilderness mainly for recreation values is to ignore the significant range of other values of a wilderness area (see above).

Unlike the United States government, the Australian government does not have vast areas of federal land upon which wilderness legislation would be readily enforceable. State governments, which under the Australian constitution have primary control over land use, regard the reservation of wilderness areas under appropriate legislation as being

a state responsibility. This situation, therefore, means that unless the Federal Government exercises its constitutional powers in relation to the environment, any national wilderness system may be achieved only through consensus between the Commonwealth and the various state and Territory governments. Nevertheless, the NWI still serves as a valuable management tool by which to evaluate the potential loss of wilderness quality which new developments might bring and the potential corresponding loss of visitor satisfaction.

Summary Points

- Identification of high value natural resources may not necessarily lead to subsequent action for conservation within the policy and planning process.
- Remoteness and primitiveness are the two essential attributes of wilderness.
- GIS is an extremely valuable tool with which to undertake natural resource inventories.

Tourist and Recreational Demand for Wilderness, National Parks and Natural Areas

Many values are attached to wilderness in western society. Tourism and recreation has increasingly become significant as one of the main values attached to wilderness and its conservation with substantial increases in demands for access to wilderness in recent years. Demand for tourist or recreational experience of wild country or wilderness may be related to two major factors. First, changing attitudes towards the environment. Second, access to natural areas.

As discussed above, there has been the development of a more favourable response to wild country in western society over the past 200 years. These positive responses have been reinforced in recent years by the overall development of a climate of environmental concern which has served to influence recreation and tourism patterns in natural areas. Going hand-in-hand with the increase in demand for personal contact with nature has been the production of natural areas for tourist consumption. While the setting of a boundary for a national park may be appropriate for assisting conservation management it can also serve as a market for tourist space on which it is appropriate for the viewer to gaze. In the same way that notions of rurality are complex spaces of production and consumption, so it is that the ideas of wilderness and naturalness are bound up in the commodification of landscapes for tourist and recreational enjoyment (Olwig and Olwig 1979; short 1991; Evernden 1992). For some, such a perspective is at odds with the mythology that national parks are ecological rather than cultural landscapes, but the cultural idea of wilderness is implicit in the very notion of wilderness itself. For example, Nash (1982:1) noted that wilderness is 'heavily freighted with meaning of a personal, symbolic and changing kind. Although the personal meaning of wilderness may not be of great value when it comes to the designation of wilderness areas from a biocentric perspective which concentrates on actual rather than perceived naturalness (see above), it is of value in terms of the recreation and tourism values of wilderness.

The last decade has witnessed growing academic attention in the field of wilderness perception imagery (e.g. Kliskey and Kearsley 1993; Higham 1997). Stankey and Schreyer (1987), for example, demonstrate that wilderness perceptions may be shaped by a wide

range of influences. These include social attitudes, cultural influences, recreational experiences, expectation and personal cognition. It is apparent, therefore, that 'while wilderness environments have an objective physical reality, what makes that reality "wilderness" rests very much with personal cognition, emotion, values and experience' (Higham and Kearsley 1994:508).

Kliskey and Kearsley (1993) argue that, while demand for access to wilderness increases, so too does the need to define the extent to which certain qualities of wilderness are sought. Kearsley (1990) illustrates this point with his proposal for a classification of natural areas based on degrees of naturalness, ease of access and the provision of facilities. Implementation of such a classification would facilitate the use of 'degrees of wilderness.' This would allow custodians of tourist facilities to provide for a wide range of wilderness preferences and utilise a wide range of natural settings.

The wider spatial distribution of recreationists based upon an appreciation of wilderness perceptions could contribute to the attainment of two fundamental goals: the maximising of visitor satisfaction and the mitigation of environmental impact at tourist sites. Kliskey and Kearsley (1993) also identified the need for a tourism development approach that does not impact upon the values sought by those who try to avoid the infrastructure of mass tourism, and to protect the social and environmental values that nature-based tourists, or ecotourists, seek. However, this demands that wilderness imagery assumes a role in the marketing and management of recreational and tourism resources in natural settings.

Higham (1997) examined the dimensions of wilderness imagery by international tourists in the South Island of New Zealand (NZ). This was done *via* a list of variables that may be considered appropriate or inappropriate to wilderness recreation and tourism. A five-point Likert scale allowed respondents to express the extent to which each variable was considered acceptable or unacceptable. Higham noted that in 'classic' (*i.e.* high quality in terms of absence of human impact) wilderness terms it should be expected that these variables would be considered to violate or compromise qualities of wilderness recreation. However, only seven of the 21 variables listed received a generally negative response (a mean value less than 3.0). Thirteen variables returned mean values exceeding 3.0 indicating a generally favourable disposition within the sample frame (Table 1.6).

In Higham's (1997) study, 'Distance from civilisation' (mean =4.0) is clearly an important aspect of wilderness recreation to most inbound tourists. The desire for remoteness is reinforced in the similar high regard for the scale of the location ('big enough to take at least two days to walk across' mean = 3.8). However, there is also a desire for the provision of safeguard mechanisms to reduce risk, with the provision of search and rescue operations receiving the highest mean score (4.3) of all listed variables. The desire for swing bridges and walk-wires over watercourses, signposting and well-marked and maintained tracks confirm the widely held desire for wilderness recreation in a natural but relatively safe and humanised environment.

Furthermore, the placement of restrictions upon access and group size, again inconsistent with the notion of wilderness as free from human influences, was widely

considered acceptable by inbound visitors. The variables 'restricted access' and 'restricted group size' share a mean of 3.8, placing them favourably on Table 1.6. As Higham (1997: 83) observed. 'It is quite possible that positive disposition toward these variables derives from trampers visiting high profile tracks on which social carrying capacities are being approached and, at times, exceeded.'

TABLE 1.6: Responses to variables listed in question 'Indicate whether you feel that the following activities/facilities are acceptable based on your perception of wilderness' (%)

<i>Variable list</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Search and rescue operations	4.0	3.1	16.6	21.2	49.1	4.3
Distant from towns and cities	4.0	6.7	19.8	22.6	45.1	4.0
Swing bridges/walkwires over rivers or streams	5.2	6.8	21.8	28.3	36.9	3.9
Restricted group size	10.5	9.5	16.6	24.9	33.5	3.8
Restricted access to prevent crowding	10.5	8.0	17.5	25.2	34.2	3.8
Big enough to take at least two days to walk across	8.9	6.8	18.8	24.3	39.4	3.8
Water provided in huts	14.3	7.9	17.7	22.3	36.9	3.6
Maintained huts and shelters	9.5	11.0	22.7	27.9	26.4	3.6
Toilet facilities	14.0	8.5	18.6	22.9	34.5	3.6
Exotic plants/trees (pines, thistles and foxgloves)	11.2	11.6	20.4	20.7	33.4	3.6
Signposts/information	7.0	12.8	24.8	24.5	29.4	3.6
Road access to the start of track	12.5	11.6	27.1	22.0	25.0	3.4
Maintained tracks (e.g. tracks cleared of fallen trees)	13.1	18.3	21.7	27.2	18.0	3.2
Developed camping sites	20.2	14.4	25.2	24.2	14.1	3.0
Grazing of stock (cattle, sheep)	31.2	15.9	25.7	11.9	11.3	2.7
Gas provided in huts for cooking	33.7	16.7	21.3	10.3	16.7	2.6
Stocking of animals and fish not native to NZ	40.1	20.7	21.0	4.6	7.7	2.4
Hunting/trapping	38.6	18.8	21.9	9.3	8.0	2.4
Motorised transport (powered vehicles, boats)	44.9	22.5	15.7	6.2	8.3	2.2
Plantation logging/mining/hydro development	52.8	18.1	16.6	4.3	4.0	2.0
Commercial recreation (e.g. guided tours)	52.7	20.1	13.1	5.5	6.4	2.0

Non-essential/unacceptable 1-2-3-4-5 Essential/acceptable

Where percentage figures do not total 100, the difference is explained by non-response to variables.

Source: Higham (1997:82)

Only seven listed variables returned a mean response which indicated a generally

negative disposition (Table 1.6). Six of these seven variables described activities that were likely to present associated social or physical impacts. These included commercial recreation and motorised transport, and grazing of stock and hunting/trapping and plantation logging, respectively. The seventh such variable, 'gas provided in huts for cooking', is exceptional in that it described the provision of a facility that may ease the passage of visitors in back-country locations. This was the only such variable that was generally rejected by inbound tourists, all other visitor provisions and facilities (huts, shelters, the provision of water and toilet facilities) being considered generally acceptable or compatible with wilderness recreation and tourism.

Higham's (1997) research raises important questions about the role of accessibility to wilderness areas. Indeed, issues of access are now presenting major management problems in wilderness and national parks. For many years access to wilderness was restricted by both the nature of the terrain and the capacity of individuals to travel there. Up until the Second World War the main means of access to most national parks was by train, with many of the national parks in the New World actually being developed in association with the railroads (Runte 1974a, 1974b, 1979; Hall 1992a). However, in the post-war period there was a substantial increase in the proportion of personal car ownership, thereby increasing accessibility to parks. National Park Management Agencies also promoted themselves to the public through 'parks for the people campaigns.' Herein though lies the critical situation in which many parks and wilderness managers now find themselves. National parks were originally established to provide both recreational enjoyment and conservation (Hall 1992a). The founders of the park movement, though, such as John Muir, could never have imagined the almost continuous growth in demand for park access from tourists and recreationists seeking to escape the urban environment. The situation now sees traffic jams occurring in some parks, congestion on walking tracks, displacement of local users by tourists, increased pollution and other adverse environmental impacts, and reduced visitor satisfaction (e.g. Hall and McArthur 1996, 1998; Higham 1997; Kearsley 1997). Within this context, therefore, park and wilderness managers are now seeking both a better understanding of their visitors and how they may be satisfied, and strategies to find a better match between visitor needs and the capacities of the resource to be used, yet to retain the values that attract people in the first place (Hall and McArthur 1998).

Historically, tourist profiles have been generated to assist in the planning and management of visitor demand at a particular destination, attraction or site. Analysing tourist demand has traditionally been based on one of two main approaches: a socio-economic approach and a psychological or psychographic approach. The socio-economic approach attempts to establish a correlation between a visitor's actions at a particular destination and their social position (Lowyck *et al.* 1992). Mathieson and Wall (1982) argue that visitor attitudes, perceptions and motivations at a destination are influenced by socio-economic characteristics such as age, education, income, residence and family situation. Representative of this form of research is Blamey's (1995) study of international ecotourists to Australia, a country which has paid particular attention to promoting its natural features to tourists in recent years (Hall 1995).

According to Blamey (1995), Japanese and other Asian tourists are the most common inbound visitors to national parks on an absolute basis (21 and 19 per cent respectively of all such visitors), although they have the lowest propensities to do so on a per visit basis. Visitors from Switzerland have the highest propensity to visit natural areas (74 per cent) followed by Germany, Canada, Scandinavia and other European countries (all above 65 per cent). In addition, the economic expenditure of nature-based tourists may be substantial. Blamey (1995) reported that in 1993 the average expenditure per trip for international visitors undertaking bushwalks during their stay was Aus.\$ 2,824 in 1993, or 58 per cent above the average expenditure of all inbound visitors (Aus.\$ 1,788).

Psychographic or psychological approaches classify people into groups according to their lifestyles, including values, motivations and expectations (Blamey and Braithwaite 1997). Lifestyles are distinctions in people's behaviour which are identified and categorised to distinguish different types of respondents. In a comparative study of Canadian tourists, ecotourists were found to be more motivated by features such as wilderness and parks than the rest of the Canadian population in choosing a destination (Kretchmann and Eagles 1990; Engles 1992).

Higham (1997) investigated a variety of wilderness motivations in an attempt to identify qualities of back-country recreation that motivate tourists to visit tracks in the New Zealand conservation estate. Eighteen wilderness motivation variables were drawn from a review of the wilderness literature. The degree to which variables were supported or refuted by sample units is illustrated in Table 1.7. Motivation variables are listed on this table in order of mean response. Perhaps not surprisingly, natural beauty and outstanding scenery are primary motivations as identified by international visitors. Indeed, Higham (1997:80) argued that this is a result that explains and entrenches the overwhelming popularity of the high-status Great Walks (of New Zealand). The reputations of the Milford, Routeburn and Kepler tracks are, in larger part, explained by outstanding opportunities to experience alpine scenery. While these tracks remain those of unequalled scenic repute it is likely that inbound tourist interest in them will remain high.

The 18 variables listed appeared in random order in Higham's (1997) original questionnaire. It is thus interesting to note the order in which variables appear in Table 1.7 when listed by mean response. When paired sequentially, the first 10 listed variables demonstrate consistency in terms of both motivation and mean response. Table 1.7 presents a clear impression of the motivations that attracted inbound tourists to visit the walking tracks. These, in decreasing strength of motivation, were:

TABLE 1.7: Responses to Variables Listed in Question 'Motivations for Coming to this Location' (%)

<i>Variable list</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>Mean</i>
To appreciate the beauty of nature	85.6	11.4	1.8	0.3	0.6	1.2
Scenic beauty/naturalness	84.1	11.4	3.3	0.6	0.6	1.2

(Contd)

Variable list	1	2	3	4	5	Mean
To encounter wilderness/untouched nature	61.6	25.5	7.2	3.6	1.2	1.6
To experience remoteness, peace and quiet	46.2	31.2	13.5	4.8	3.3	1.9
To see New Zealand's native birds and animals	38.9	30.7	18.8	8.5	2.1	2.1
To learn about NZ's flora/fauna/natural systems	28.3	32.5	21.7	12.3	4.8	2.3
For a totally new and different experience	30.9	21.6	23.7	14.4	9.0	2.5
To get away from life's pressures	34.2	22.8	16.2	9.6	15.3	2.5
To face the challenges of nature	24.9	24.9	21.6	13.8	12.6	2.7
To undertake strenuous physical exercise	22.8	23.7	23.4	15.6	12.0	2.8
To experience solitude	20.9	19.7	21.8	17.6	13.6	3.0
To meet people and make friends	12.9	18.0	30.2	21.6	16.8	3.1
Relax with family, friends or partner	23.1	17.4	17.1	10.5	30.3	3.1
Self-awareness/contemplation	14.2	21.1	25.1	18.1	15.7	3.2
To feel rejuvenated	18.8	14.8	21.2	11.8	24.8	3.3
To learn more about conservation/management issues	5.4	7.2	28.7	26.9	29.9	3.7
To confront hazards and take risks	5.7	8.7	21.0	24.6	37.5	3.9
To test mental skills (direction, mapping)	6.0	9.0	17.5	27.7	38.6	3.9

Strong motivation 1-2-3-4-5 No motivation

Where percentage figures do not total 100. the difference is explained by non-response to variables.

Source: Higham (1997:81)

1. To experience natural beauty and outstanding scenery.
2. To experience remote and relatively untouched nature.
3. To experience New Zealand's distinctive flora, fauna and natural systems.
4. To escape civilisation and engage in something completely new and different.
5. To engage in the physical challenge that natural areas present.

The desire to experience solitude, one of the classic principles of wilderness recreation (see above), represents the eleventh variable listed in Table 1.7. This variable receives a mean score of 3.0. The last seven listed variables returned mean scores that described a negative rather than positive disposition. The last two relate to the physical and mental challenges that classic wilderness recreation offers, yet these receive distinctly low levels of endorsement by tourists. Such a situation, therefore, raises fundamental questions about the benefits which people are seeking when they visit wilderness areas and the extent to which agencies should seek to supply such benefits.

Another major issue in terms of tourism and recreation in national parks and wilderness areas is the extent to which tourism economically benefits such peripheral areas. Researchers disagree on the economic impact of nature tourists on local communities

(Hull 1998; Weaver 1998). On the one hand, there is the argument that since these visitors spend most of their time out on the land or in the wilderness their economic impacts on local communities are minimal (e.g. Rudkin and Hall 1996). On the other, environmentalists have promoted tourism as a non-consumptive use of nature and a win-win development strategy for underdeveloped rural areas. As an influential World Wildlife Fund Publication on ecotourism states:

One alternative proposed as a means to link economic incentives with natural resources preservation is the promotion of nature tourism. With increased tourism to parks and reserves, which are often located in rural areas, the populations surrounding the protected areas can find employment through small scale tourism enterprises. Greater levels of nature tourism can also have a substantial economic multiplier effect for the rest of the country. Therefore, tourism to protected areas demonstrates the value of natural resources to tourists, rural populations, park managers, government officials and tour operators.

(Boo 1990: 3)

Indeed, Boo (1990) found that nature-oriented tourists had higher daily expenditures than those tourists who were not nature oriented. Grekin and Milne (1996) also argued that ecotourism is an industry where the physical isolation of a destination may work to its economic advantage by providing a taste of the unknown and the untouched. Similarly, Stoffle *et al.* (1979) in a study on indigenous tourism in the South-Western United States also found that tourists who felt positive about residents at a particular destination were likely to purchase items to remember their experience. Hull (1998), in examining the average daily expenditure patterns of ecotourists on the North Shore of Quebec, found that package ecotourists had a substantially higher average daily expenditure than did independent tourists. Accommodation was the area of largest expenditure with package tourists spending on average Can. \$ 42.04 and independent tourists spending Can. \$ 11.76. For package tourists, accommodation costs represented 59.6 per cent of their average daily expenditure while for independent tourists accommodation costs represent only 23.8 per cent. Package tourists' second largest expenditure category was transportation at 22.2 per cent while for independent tourists meals were the second largest category at approximately 17.8 per cent (Hull 1998). Expenditure patterns show that over 75 per cent of the package tourists' costs are restricted to accommodation and transportation while independent tourists, even though they spend less overall, are spending more money in different sectors of the sustainability of the industry. Hull's findings are supported by those of Place (1998:117) who also noted that:

ecotourism can provide an economic base, but it does not happen automatically, or without social and environmental impacts. If it is to be sustainable, local populations must be allowed to capture a significant amount of the economic multipliers generated by tourism. Successful reduction of multiplier leakage requires local participation in development planning and outside assistance with the provision of necessary infrastructure, training and credit.

Ecotourism, tourism and recreation in natural environments can undoubtedly bring

economic benefits to both communities on the periphery and to the wholesalers and suppliers of such experiences, and it is for this reason that increasing attention is being given to the supply of the experience of wild nature (Fennell 1999).

Supplying the Wilderness and Outdoor Recreation Experience

In many ways the idea that one can 'supply' a wilderness or outdoor recreation experience seems at odds with the implied freedom of wilderness. However, the tourism industry is in the business of producing such experiences, while national parks and wilderness, by virtue of their formal designation, are places which have been defined as places where such experiences may be found. One of the most important transformations in the production of leisure on the periphery has been the way in which the initial construction of national parks as places of spectacular scenery and national monuments for the few were transformed into places of mass recreation in the 1950s and 1960s and to places of tourist commodification in the 1980s and 1990s, particularly through the notion of ecotourism.

A number of different meanings applied to the concept of 'ecotourism' (Valentine 1992; Hall 1995; Weaver 1998) which range from 'shallow' to 'deeper' statements of the tourism environment relationship:

- ecotourism as any form of tourism development which is regarded as environmentally friendly and has the capacity to act as a branding mechanism for some forms of tourist products;
- ecotourism as 'green' or 'nature-based' tourism which is essentially a form of special interest tourism and refers to a specific market segment and the products generated for that segment;
- ecotourism as a form of nature-based tourism that involves education and interpretation of the natural environment and is managed to be ecologically and culturally sustainable.

The Australian Office of National Tourism (1997), for example, defined ecotourism as 'nature-based tourism that involves interpretation of the natural and cultural environment and ecologically sustainable management of natural areas.'

Ecotourism is seen as ecologically and socially responsible, and as fostering environmental appreciation and awareness. It is based on the enjoyment of nature with minimal environmental impact. The educational element of ecotourism, which enhances understanding of natural environments and ecological processes, distinguishes it from adventure travel and sightseeing.

(Office of National Tourism 1997)

Many countries around the world are now focusing on the supply of an ecotourism product (Fennell 2000). Unfortunately, much of the ecotourism promotion best fits into the shallow end of the ecotourism spectrum, in that much of it revolves around the branding of a product or destination rather than seeking to ensure sustainability. Indeed, one of the greatest problems of ecotourism is the extent to which such experiences can be

supplied without a limit on the number of people who visit natural areas as visitation may lead not only to environmental damage, but also to perceptions of crowding thereby reducing the quality of the experience. As Kearsley *et al.* (1997: 71) noted, 'From the viewpoint of tourism...it is the impact of tourists upon tourists that has increasingly led to concern. Issues of crowding, displacement and host community dissatisfaction have risen to prominence.'

Crowding is a logical consequence of rising participation in outdoor recreation and nature-based tourism activities (Gramann 1982). It should therefore be of no great surprise that crowding is the most frequently studied aspect of wilderness recreation (Shelby *et al.* 1989). Indeed, many issues in wilderness management and outdoor recreation, such as satisfaction, desired experiences, carrying capacity and displacement are all related to the primary issue of crowding. Furthermore, social carrying capacity is increasingly being recognised as the most critical of all type of carrying capacity, since ecological impacts can often be controlled by management actions other than limiting use levels; for example, facilities may be extended and made more effective, and physical capacities are usually high (Shelby and Heberlein 1984).

Importantly, crowding should not be confused with density. Density refers to the number of individuals in a given area while crowding refers to the evaluation of a certain density (Graefe *et al.* 1984a, b). In a review of 35 studies of crowding, Shelby *et al.* (1989); identified four sources of variation in perceptions of crowding:

1. *Temporal variation*—either in terms of time or season within which outdoor recreation activities are taking place. For example, weekends and public holidays are likely to experience higher than average use densities thereby resulting in inflated perceptions of crowding.
2. *Resource availability*—variation of resource availability (*e.g.* the opening and closing of tracks in alpine areas) may act to alter the presence of people at recreational sites.
3. *Accessibility*—distance (expressed in terms of time, cost, spatial or perceived distance) will affect crowding and densities, particularly if there is little or no recreation resource substitution.
4. *Management strategies*—management can intervene directly (*e.g.* use restrictions), or indirectly (*e.g.* de-marketing) to reduce visitor numbers at recreation sites.

Shelby *et al.* (1989) also investigated the hypothesis that crowding perceptions would vary according to the type of recreational use, although they were not able to resolve this hypothesis. However, recent research by Higham (1996) indicates that recreational use history is a substantial factor in influencing perceptions of crowding.

Concerns over crowding are closely related to issues of social carrying capacity in wilderness and outdoor recreation areas. Social carrying capacity in recreation areas 'has typically been defined as a use level beyond which some measure of experiential quality becomes impaired' (Graefe *et al.* 1984b: 500). However, there is no 'absolute value' of social carrying capacity, there is no single response to specific levels of use in a particular

area. Instead, indicators of social or behavioural capacity will be dependent on the management objectives for a given recreation site (Greate *et al.* 1984a). Shelby and Heberlein (1986: 21) therefore, refined this definition to read: 'Social carrying capacity is the level of use beyond which social impacts exceed acceptable levels specified by evaluative standards.'

Several factors have been identified as influencing crowding norms, with a number of variables contributing to the interpretation of increasing recreational use density as perceived crowding (Manning 1985):

- visitor characteristics: motivations, preferences and expectations, previous use experiences, visitors' attitudes towards wilderness;
- characteristics of those encountered: type and size of groups encountered, behaviour of those encountered, perceptions of likeness;
- situational variables: type of area and location within an area.

Manning (1985) concluded that crowding norms are extremely diverse, yet the significance of visitor characteristics as a factor and the psychographic variables which comprise this factor indicate the possibility of a high degree of agreement being reached on crowding norms within particular subsets of the recreational population. This latter possibility highlights the importance of managers having a good understanding of the psychographic and demographic profiles of their visitor base in order to optimise levels of visitor satisfaction and attainment of management objectives (Hall and McArthur 1998).

Density alone provides no measure of visitor satisfaction. Satisfaction will be determined by expectations, prior experiences and commitment to the recreational activity. Perceptions of crowding are therefore influenced by use densities, but this relationship is mediated by a range of other factors and variables (Graefe *et al.* 1984a). Indeed, a range of reactions or coping strategies are possible in recreationalist response to decreased recreational satisfaction, which may result not only from crowding, but also from such factors as littering, noise and worn out camp sites (*e.g.* Anderson and Brown 1984). Such reactions include:

- modifying behavioural patterns (*e.g.* by camping rather than using developed facilities);
- changing time of visit or use (*e.g.* visiting in shoulder or off-peak periods in order to avoid conflicts with other users);
- changing perceptions, expectations and recreation priorities (also referred to as product shift (Shelby *et al.* 1988), *e.g.* developing a new set of expectations about a recreational setting in order to maintain satisfaction);
- recreational displacement, where those who are most sensitive to recreational conflicts seek alternative sites to achieve desired outcomes.

Of the above strategies, recreational displacement is probably the most serious from the manager's perspective as displacement appears to be a reality of wilderness use regardless of the level of recreational experience (Becker 1981; Anderson and Brown 1984).

Therefore, increases in numbers of visitors to wilderness and other natural areas, particularly at a time when such areas have to cope with their promotion as places for ecotourism experiences as well as the pressures of traditional recreation users, may lead to a decline in wilderness qualities as users are displaced from site to site. For example, in the case of major walking tracks in the South Island of New Zealand, Kearsley (1997:95) observes:



National Parks and Scenic Areas

- A Coramandel Range
- B Raukumara Range
- C Egmont National Park
- D Whanganui National Park
- E Tongariro National Park
- F Pirongia Forest Park
- G Northland Forest Park
- H Tairarua Range
- I Ruahine Range
- J Kaimangua Forest Park
- K Kaweka Forest Park
- L Urewra National Park
- M North-West Nelson Forest Park
- N Mount Richmond Forest Park
- O Nelson Lakes National Park
- P Victoria Forest Park
- Q Hamner Forest Park
- R Lake Sumner Forest Park
- S Arthur's Pass National Park
- T Mount Cook National Park
- U Mount Aspiring National Park
- V Fiordland National Park
- W Catlins Forest Park
- X Westland National Park

Figure 1.2: National Parks and scenic areas in New Zealand frequented by international tourists.

In a context where there is a clear hierarchy of sites, as in Southern New Zealand, displacement down the hierarchy is an all-too-likely possibility. . . the very large increase in overseas users of the Routeburn has displaced some domestic recreationists (and perhaps some tourists) to second tier tracks such as the Hollyford or Dart-Rees, or, indeed, out of tramping altogether. Similarly, their arrival might displace others yet further down the hierarchy to even less wellknown places, and there is a danger that trampers might be forced into wild and remote environments that are beyond their safe capacity.

One consequence of this, if it is happening, is increased visitor pressure on more remote locations and displacement of moderate wilderness purists to a limited reservoir of pristine sites. . . with obvious physical impacts. A second consequence is the effect upon

host community satisfaction, as domestic recreationists are displaced by overseas visitors (Figure 1.2). Both of these consequences have serious implications for the sustainability of tourism.

The case of crowding and other variables which influence visitor satisfaction and behaviour, including displacement, highlights the significance of understanding the factors of supply and demand of the recreation and tourist experience. Just as importantly they indicate the need for sound planning and management practice in trying to achieve a balance between the production and consumption of tourism and recreation, particularly in environmentally sensitive areas.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted a number of areas in which geographers have contributed to research and scholarship in the tourism and recreation periphery. From the Topophilia of Tuan (1974), the sacred space of Grader (1978) and the breath-taking historical analysis of Glacken (1967), geographers have been at the forefront not only of understanding the human relationship to the natural environment and wild lands in particular, but also to the behaviours of tourists and recreationists in the wilderness. In addition, geographers have assisted in developing techniques to identify wilderness areas, undertake environmental histories and to cast light on their values.

As a resource analyst, the geographer, therefore, 'seeks to understand the fundamental characteristics of natural resources and the processes through which they are allocated and utilised' (Mitchell 1979: 3). The geographer's task is also relayed by Coppock (1970: 25), who has made remarks of direct relevance to a better understanding of the relationship between tourism, recreation and wilderness conservation: 'A concern with problem solving and with the processes of human interaction with resources, particularly in respect of decision making, will powerfully assist a more effective geographical contribution to conservation.'

Coastal and Marine Recreation and Tourism

The coastal environment is a magnet for tourists and recreationists although its role in leisure activities has changed in time and space, as coastal destinations have developed, waned, been reimagined and redeveloped in the twentieth century. The coastal environment is a complex system which is utilised by the recreationist for day trips, while juxtaposed to these visits are those made by the domestic and international tourist. In an early attempt to identify the complexity of the coastline for tourism, Pearce and Kirk (1986) identified three elements to the coastal environment: the *binterland* (where accommodation and services are provided); the *transite* zone (i.e. dunes) and the *recreational activity* zone (beach and sea). This model typifies much of the research by geographers prior to the 1990s: to observe, record, synthesise and model recreational and tourism phenomena in pursuit of an explanation of the spatial relationships and nature of the coast. In Lavery's (1971b) analysis of resorts, the distinction between recreation and tourism blurred but the coastal resort was a dominant element of the observed patterns and models of tourism activity. The pursuit of explanations of the spatial structure of coastal tourism and preoccupation with the resort morphology has led to the replication of a multiplicity of studies that look at the similarities and differences between resorts in different parts of the world. As D.G. Pearce (1988: 11) rightly concluded: 'In stressing the physical form tourism takes along the coast, geographers have largely neglected the way tourists actually and this space. The questions of where and how coastal tourists spend their time appear to have been taken for granted for they have rarely been addressed explicitly nor examined in any detail. This assessment may equally be applied to the recreational activities of visitors to the coastal environment since this neglect is not germane to tourism alone. This was confirmed by Patmore (1983:209) since 'For such extensive resource, it has been little studied in any comprehensive fashion.'

Ocean and coastal tourism is widely regarded as one of the fastest growing areas of contemporary tourism (Pollard 1995; Kim and Kim 1996; Orams 1999). While tourism development has been spatially focused on the beach for much of the past 50 years, as

witnessed, for example, in the slogan of the four 'S's' of tourism—sun, sand, surf and sex—the coastal and the marine environment as a whole has become one of the new frontiers and fastest growing areas of the world's tourism industry (Miller and Auyong 1991). The exact numbers of marine tourist remain unknown. Nevertheless, the selling of 'sun, sand and surf experiences', the development of beach resorts and the increasing popularity of marine tourism (e.g. fishing, scuba diving, windsurfing and yachting) has all placed increased pressure on the coast, an area for which use may already be highly concentrated in terms of agriculture, human settlements, fishing and industrial location (Miller 1993; ESCAP 1995a, 1995b). However, because of the highly dynamic nature of the coastal environment any development which interferes with the natural coastal system may have severe consequences for the long-term stability of the environment (Cicin-Sain and Knecht 1998). Indeed, the United States National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (1997) recognised that:

Of all the activities that take place in coastal zones and the near-shore coastal ocean, none is increasing in both volume and diversity more than coastal tourism and recreation. Both the dynamic nature of this sector and its magnitude demand that it be actively taken into account in government plans, policies, and programmes related to the coasts and ocean. Indeed, virtually all coastal to the coasts and ocean. Indeed, virtually all coastal and ocean issue areas affect coastal tourism and recreation either directly or indirectly. Clean water, healthy coastal habitats, and a safe, secure, and enjoyable environment are clearly fundamental to successful coastal tourism. Similarly, bountiful living marine resources (fish, shellfish, wetlands, coral reefs, etc.) are of critical importance to most recreational experiences. Security from risks associated with natural coastal hazards such as storms, hurricanes, tsunamis, and the like is a requisite for coastal tourism to be sustainable over the long-term.

The concept of coastal tourism embraces the full range of tourism, leisure and recreationally oriented activities that take place in the coastal zone and the offshore coastal waters. These include coastal tourism development (accommodation, restaurants, food industry and second homes), and the infrastructure supporting coastal development (e.g. retail businesses, marinas and activity suppliers). Also included are tourism activities such as recreational boating, coast—and marine-based ecotourism, cruises, swimming, recreational fishing, snorkelling and diving (Miller and Auyong 1991; Miller 1993). Marine tourism is closely related to the concept of coastal tourism but also includes ocean-based tourism such as deep-sea fishing and yacht cruising. Orams (1999:9) defines marine tourism as including 'those recreational activities that involve travel away from one's place of residence and which have as their host or focus the marine environment (where the marine environment is defined as those waters which are saline and tide-affected)'. Such a definition is significant, for as well as having a biological and recreational base it also emphasises that consideration of the elements of marine and coastal tourism must include shore-based activities, such as landbased whale watching, reef walking, cruise ship supply and yachting events, within the overall ambit of marine tourism.

This chapter seeks to review the principal ways in which the geographer has

approached the coastal and marine environment. In particular, it highlights the reluctance of geographers to adopt a holistic understanding, whereby, recreation and tourism are analysed as competing and yet complementary activities using the same resource base. The chapter commences with a discussion of the way in which the coast, and the beach in particular, was created by recreationalists and tourists. Like wilderness areas, the comparatively recent discovery of the coast as a potential resource for leisure use illustrates that leisure resources are — *created*: they exist in a latent form until their discovery, recognition and their development leads to their use. In most geographical analyses of the coastline as such a resource, the value of a historical approach is acknowledged in virtually every textbook on resorts. Any yet the geographer had been largely remiss in addressing this vital theme—how the resource was discovered and developed. It developed in the human consciousness, supplanting perceptions of the coastal zone as a repulsive environment once the lure of the seaside marked a changing sensibility in society. For this reason, historical reconstructions of coastal environment need to recognise the way in which the resource was discovered, popularised and developed, and assumed a cultural significance in society.

The Coastline as a Recreation and Tourist Resource: Its Discovery and Recognition as a Leisure Resource

According to Lencle and Bosker (1999: xx):

The beach as we know it is, historically speaking, a recent phenomenon. In fact, it took hundreds of years for the seashore to be colonised as the pre-eminent site for human recreation...A proscenium for history, the beach has become a conspicuous signpost against which Western culture has registered its economic, aesthetic, sexual, religious, and even technological milestones.

This illustrates the changing perception of a natural resource for leisure through history: the European acceptance of the beach embodied notions of utility which replaced a reverence for the sea and images of nature dominating human existence in the littoral zone. In the Romantic period the beach represented a site for pleasure, spiritual exercise and a positive experience. The symbolic values of the beach was also incorporated in poetry, landscape painting and created a new sensibility and practices. This brought new social, psychological, economic and spatial prestige to a landscape as a place of leisure and pleasure (see Lencle and Bosker's (1999) stimulating cultural history of the beach for more detail). In Corbin's (1995) *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside 1750-1840*, the dramatic changes in western attitudes towards the sea, the seaside and the landscape are reviewed in a European context. As a French translation of the European literature, it provides a fascinating reconstruction of those elements in western society which contributed to the discovery of the coast as a leisure resource (*i.e.* Romanticism) and the impact on perceptions of the seaside. The publication of Jane Austen's *Sanditon* in 1817, heralded as the first 'seaside' novel, was a parody of coastal tourism as a fashion-driven experience with health and recuperative benefits. What is significant in Corbin's (1995) thesis is the discovery of the pleasure qualities of the coast and the transformation from 'the classical period [which] knew nothing of the attraction of seaside beaches, the emotion of a bather plunging into the waves, or the pleasures of a stay at the seaside. A veil of

repulsive images prevented the seaside from exercising its appeal' (Corbin 1995:1). What the period 1750 to 1840 witnessed was a fundamental reassessment of the ways in which leisure time and places with the evolution of the seaside holiday. Within that evolutionary process the beach was invented as part of a resort complex. The beach developed as the activity space for recreation and tourism, with distinct cultural and social forms emerging in relation to fashions, tastes and innovations in resort form. The development of piers, jetties and promenades as formal spaces for organised recreational and tourism activities led to new ways of experiencing the sea. The coastal environment, resort and the beach have been an enduring resource for tourism and recreation since the 1750s in western consciousness, with its meaning, value to society and role in leisure time remaining a significant activity space.

Indeed, the beach 'invites watches to unearth not only the dominant, culturally elite themes of a period, but its popular sensibilities: a blank piece of real estate on which each wave of colonizers puts up its own idea of paradise' (Lencleik and Bosker 1999:xx): in short the coast represents a liminal landscape in which the juncture of pleasure, recreation and tourism are epitomised in the postmodern consumption of leisure places. The beach is an environments where hordes are prepared to tolerate overcrowding to experience the man—nature environmental landscape—being at one with nature so that the three 'S's' (sun, sea and sand) can be experienced in the tourist and recreationalist consciousness and pursuit of the liminal existence.

The Geographer's Contribution to the Analysis of Coastal Recreation and Tourism

The coast has emerged as one of the popular, yet hidden and underplayed elements in the geographer's application of the hallmark traits of spatial analysis, observation and explanation. From the early context for economic geography, such as Hotelling's (1929) model of icecream sellers on the beach to Weaver's (2000) model of resort scenarios, the coast has assumed a significance as a context for research, but not as a veritable resource for the legitimate analysis of tourism and recreation. This dependence on the coast as a laboratory for the analysis of spatial concepts, interdependencies and the application of geographical methodologies does not adequately reflect the cultural and leisure significance of the beach and coastline in recreational and tourism activity in time and space. To the contrary, locating a landmark study which embodies the coastline as one of the most significant resources for recreation and tourism is notoriously difficult. The literature is fragmented, with tourism and recreational geographers seemingly obdurate given their reluctance to move this theme higher up the research agenda to fully appreciate its wider significance in modern-day patterns and consumption of day trips and holiday-making. Despite the fact that the coast remains one of the most obvious contexts for tourism and recreation, it is poorly understood. Research is reliant on a host of very dated and highly disjointed studies of the coastal environment. Despite the publication of two important studies in the 1990s (Fabbri 1990; Wong 1993b), the area has barely moved forward in the mainstream tourism literature, with *ad hoc* studies published in non-tourism sources. Even in D.G. Pearce's (1995) review of coastal tourism, much of the emphasis was on spatial patterns, resort morphology, the significance of the seafront and planning issues.

This is extremely problematic for both tourism and recreation studies and geographers. The early interest in coastal tourism and recreation (e.g. Gilbert 1939; Patmore 1968; Lavery 1971b; Pearce and Kirk 1986) has not been accompanied by a sustained interest and, as a result, the research published has been highly specialised (see Table 2.1) and not been situated in a wider ecosystem/environmental context where the interconnections and sustainability of coastal environments can be understood in a holistic context.

Where research has been published, it has made significant contributions to advancing knowledge on the coastal-leisure interface, where physical processes are entwined with human action on a dynamic and volatile resource base. What Table 2.1 shows in this context is that the geographer has contributed to the historical analysis of resorts (in conjunction with seminal studies by social historians such as Walton (1983)), and have formulated models to describe the process of development and change. The main dynamics of change, combined with temporal and spatial seasonality embodied in tourist and recreational travel to the coast, have remained an enduring theme in the geographer's analysis of this resource for leisure. The recreational and tourist behaviour which certain in the coastal environment has also generated a number of seminal studies (i.e. Mercer 1972; Cooper 1981), while the physical geographers have made valid studies of the processes affecting vulnerable coastal environments. This has been complemented by studies of the pattern and impact of resort development which raises important conservation issues associated with the human-environment interactions in these environments. Finally, geographers, have also made useful contributions to the policy, planning and management of coastal environments. But what marks this area out in the geography of recreation and tourism is the sparse nature of these studies within the mainstream literature, with the entire theme seeming almost unfashionable and knowledge often being based on findings from studies published in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, despite the significance of Fabbri's (1990) and Wong's (1993b) collection of papers on the topic by geographers and non-geographers. As a result, the following section examines the different contributions geographers have made and the significance to increasing our knowledge of the coast in the formation of distinct leisure and tourism geographies.

The Historical Analysis of Recreation and Tourism in the Coastal Zone

In many geographical analysis of recreation (e.g. Lavery 1971c; Patmore 1973, 1983) and tourism (e.g. Towner 1996; Williams 1998), the English seaside resort is a popular topic for discussion. Indeed, Williams and Shaw's (1998) interesting analysis of the rise and fall of the English seaside or coastal resort examined two principal concerns of the historical geographer and contemporary tourism geographer: continuity and change in the development, organisation and prospects for the resort. Most analyses of the English seaside resort by geographers (e.g. Patmore 1968) refer to the seminal studies by Gilbert (1939, 1949) and the doctoral thesis by Barrett (1958). Despite these influential studies, the most notable contributions to the analysis of English resorts came from the social and economic historians, such as Walton (1983) and the geographical analysis by Towner (1996). What these studies emphasise are the role of historical sources, such as the census, development plans, advertising, photographic archives and other documentary sources in reconstructing the recreational and tourism environments in coastal areas in the

TABLE 2.1: Illustrations of the Geographer's Contribution to the Analysis of Coastal Recreation and Tourism

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Example(s)</i>
The historical analysis of recreation and tourism in the coastal zone	Gilbert (1939), The development of coastal resorts Patmore (1968), Spa resorts in Britain Naylor (1967), The development of tourism in Spain Robinson (1976), Geography of tourism and resort development Barke and Towner (1996), The evolution of tourism in Spanish resorts Towner (1996). Synthesis of the process of development of resorts and patterns of tourism.
Models of recreation and tourism	Hotelling (1929), Locational geography and the beach Stonsfield and Rickert (1970), The recreational business district Miossec (1972), The process of resort development Britton (1982), Model of post-colonialist development of reason development Weaver (2000), Destination development scenarios Jeans (1990), Analysis of beach resort morphology in England and Australia Pigram (1977), Analysis of beach resort morphology.
Tourist and recreationalist travel to the coast	Wall (1971, 1972), Patterns of travel by Hull car owners Potmore (1971), Routeways and tourist recreational travel Mercer (1972), Recreational use of Melbourne beaches.
Tourist and recreationalist behaviour	Cooper (1981), The behaviour and activities of tourists in Jersey Coppock (1977a), Second homeownership Pearce (1998), Tourist time budget study in Vanuatu Walmesley and Jenkins (1994), Perception of coastal areas Wong (1990), Recreational activities in coastal areas of Singapore Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell (1998), Beach user perceptions in England.
Geomorphology of coasts and inter-relationship with tourism/recreation	May (1993), Survey of South England Morris (1996), Environmental management in coastal Spain.
Coastal processes and the relationship and impact on tourism/recreation activity	Burns <i>et al.</i> (1990), Analysis of coastal processes affecting the SW Cape coastline in South Africa. Kirkby (1996), Recreation and the quality of coastal water in Spain.
Resort development	Carter (1982), Caravan site development in Ireland Pearce (1978), The form and function of French resorts Wong (1986, 1993a), The development of island tourism in

(cont'd)

Theme	Example(s)
	Peninsula Malaysia Marrison and Dickinson (1987), The Costa Brava in Spain
Conservation of coastal environment	Miossec (1993), The coastal conservation measures developed in France White <i>et al.</i> (1997), Special Area Management and coastal tourism resources in Sri Lanka.
Human/Environment interactions within coastal environments	Carter <i>et al.</i> (1990), Man's impact on the Irish coastline McDowell <i>et al.</i> (1990), Man's impact on the Costa del Sol Edwards (1987), Ecological impacts of tourism on heritage coasts in the UK.
The management and planning of coastal areas for recreation and tourism	Nielsen (1990), Constructing a recreational beach in Denmark Ghelardoni (1990), Planning the Aquitaine coastline in France for tourism Pearce and Kirk (1986), Carrying capacity for coastal tourism. Carter (1988), The coastline as an area to manage for recreation and tourism
Other contribution	Dumas (1982), The commercial structure of Benidorm Kim and Kim (1996), Overview of coastal and marine tourism in Korea Penning-Roswell <i>et al.</i> (1992), Economic of coastal management/

Victorian, Edwardian and subsequent periods. Specific phenomena, such as the English holiday camp, examined by Ward and Hardy (1986), are also charted using similar sources.

In each of the studies of the English seaside resort, geographers have sought to map and analyse the changing dynamics of resort development. In these analyses, the preconditions for resort development (see Bescancenot *et al.* 1978), the role of stakeholders, developers, and planners have been examined, and D.G. Pearce (1995a) reviews many of the French geographers' contributions to coastal tourism research. In the analysis of Spanish tourism by Barke *et al.* (1996), a number of useful historical reconstructions of coastal tourism exist (*e.g.* Barke and Towner 1996; Walton and Smith 1996), which review the emergence of coastal areas in the era during the after the Grand Tour. The late nineteenth—and early twentieth-century patterns of coastal tourism in Spain, and the dynamics of tourist circuits, were reconstructed from historical guidebooks. The relationship of tourist circuits, the evolution of the Spanish railways system and the development of tourist accommodation highlighted the consumption of leisure resources, particularly the evolution of seaside resorts. Walton and Smith (1996: 57) concluded that 'The importance of the quality of local government to resort success has been strongly apparent in studies of English resorts, but its role in San Sebastian was even more impressive'. More recent evaluations of coastal resources, such as the development of

England and Wales Heritage Coastline (Romeril 1984, 1988) has also emerged as a resource with a historical connotation. In other countries (e.g. the USA and Australia), historical studies of coastal tourism and recreation (see Pigram 1977; Miller 1987; Pigram and Jenkins 1999) have considered resorts, their life cycles and development in a longitudinal context. The historical geography of specific resorts has provided a focal point for research, where a range of factors explain why resorts developed where they developed, why they develop and the pace and scale of change.

Models of Coastal Recreation and Tourism

As already mentioned, model building is one of the hallmarks of the logical positivist traditions in human geography (see Johnston 1991). In the early studies of coastal recreation and tourism (e.g. Gilbert 1939), the major contribution to spatial knowledge was predicated on developing models which had a universal or more general application. By far the most extensive review of models of coastal recreation and tourism is D.G. Pearce (1995a).

D.G. Pearce (1995a) reviewed models of resort development, acknowledging the role of historical antecedents (e.g. the role of developers in developing resorts for different social classes). Using the resort life cycle developed by Butler (1980), various factors were used to explain similarities and differences in development paths and the resulting morphological structure of the resort. D.G. Pearce (1995a) identified the problem of tourism functions being added to existing urban centres in coastal locations where a day trip market may also exist. What Pearce concluded was that 'a spectrum of coastal resorts exists, ranging from those with a wholly tourist function, notably the new planned resorts, to those where a significant amount of tourist activity occurs alongside a variety of other functions' (D.G. Pearce 1995a: 137). Interestingly, this the earlier typology developed by Lavery (1971c) in a recreational context, where a similar notion of a continuum was implicit but not explicitly developed. What D.G. Pearce (1995a) could also have added is that the recreational market in many resorts will numerically outnumber the tourist market, though the behaviour of the former is very much climatically conditioned and opportunistic.

Among the most widely cited models of the resort in Stansfield and Rickert's (1970) discussion of the impact of consumption on resort morphology. Their resulting model, identified as the Recreational Business District (RBD), utilised earlier concepts from urban morphology models where central place functions of urban centres exist. The RBD, as distinct from the CBD, was viewed as the locale for recreational services and activities. Stansfield and Rickert (1970: 215) defined the RBD as 'the seasonally oriented linear aggregation of restaurants, various specialty food stands, candy stores and a varied array of novelty and souvenir shops which cater to visitors' leisurely shopping needs.' Although the model was based only on two New Jersey seaside resorts, the important distinction for current cultural interest in coastal recreation and tourism was that the RBD was not only an economic manifestation but a social phenomenon. Similar relationships between the CBD, which is spatially detached from the RBD in resorts, was an important focus for research in the 1970s and 1980s. Had such models been developed in the 1990s, the research agenda and formulation of the model framework would have been very different. A greater

emphasis would be placed upon the supply dynamics which created the RBD (*i.e.*, the role of capital), the cultural and social meaning attached to the tourist, and recreationalists' experiences of the RBD as a place in time and space (see Britton (1991) for a fuller discussion of these ideas). It would not be viewed in a static context, since the processes of change and evolution of the RBD to accommodate consumer tastes would also be emphasised.

In the emerging tourist destinations in South-East Asia (see Hall and page 2000), the RBD is a more complex phenomenon where the addition of hawker stalls, souvenir sellers and the informal economy combine to create a distinct entertainment district. D.G. Pearce (1995a) identified the addition of a night-life function in Patong, Phuket (Thailand) where the commodification of sex tourism is an additional function evident in the RBD (see Ryan and Hall (2001) for further discussion). Research by planners, most notably R.A. Smith (1991, 1992b), observed that in integrated resort development in South-East Asia, the RBD function is incorporated as a key function. Landuse zoning and the spatial separation of accommodation from the RBD to increase resort carrying capacity in locating such as Cancun (Gormsen 1982) highlighted the use of spatial concepts to manage tourist development. Pigram's (1977) influential study of morphological changes in Surfers Paradise (Queensland, Australia) between 1958 and 1975 recognised the spatial separation of the RBD and CBD. Yet relatively little interest has been shown in models of beach use, with a notable exception (Jeans 1990) where a semiotic model was developed. This model distinguished between the resort which represented culture and the sea which represented nature. What emerged was a transitional zone between culture and nature, a zone of 'ambiguity'—the beach. A second axis of meaning was also recognized, where the beach zone had a social periphery, where non-conformists (*i.e.* semi-nude and nude bathers and surfers) inhabited the area. This further refines Pearce and Kirk's (1986) model, though it was valuable in identifying the complexities of understanding the different types of carrying capacity of the resort and wider coastal zone.

Tourist and Recreational Travels to the Coast

Within the tourism literature, the role of transport as a facilitating mechanism to explain tourist travel, patterns of tourism and development have only belatedly been acknowledged (Page 1994b, 1998, 1999). There are a number of seminal studies (*e.g.* Patmore 1968) in explaining the development of spas. Similarly, Pearson's (1968) study of the evolution of coastal resorts in East Lincolnshire illustrated the geographers' interest in the transport dimension. Patmore's (1971: 70) recognition that 'Deep-rooted in the very concept of outdoor recreation is the "journey to play", the fundamental movement linking residence of workplace to recreation resource. Such movement varies in scale, in duration and frequency.' A similar analogy may also be applied to tourism and the geographer has utilised a wide range of concepts from transport geography to analyse the patterns of travel for coastal activity by recreationalists and tourists. As Patmore (1971) recognised, it is the identification of the routeways (the lines of movement) and the link to nodes of intensive leisure activity which have preoccupied the geographers' analysis of tourism and recreational travel, seeking to model and understand this phenomenon (Mansfield 1969; Colenutt 1970). As Patmore (1971-72) argued, 'The crux of recreational planning is therefore, the location, design and management of a relatively limited number of sites

devoted wholly or partially to recreation, together with a concern for the routes which link them both to each other and to the residence of the users.'

For the coastal environment, it has been the mobility afforded by the car (Wall 1971, 1972) which has posed many of the resulting pressures, planning problems and conflicts in environments that are constrained in the number of visitors they can absorb. Wall (1971) recognised that holidaymakers generate a considerable proportion of the road traffic in resorts. As Wall (1971) poignantly and ironically commented: 'One of the major advantages of automobile travel is that it appears to be quite cheap. The capital expenditure involved in the purchase of an automobile is likely to be large, but having incurred this outlay, the cost of additional increments of travel is comparatively small' (Wall 1971: 101). The irony in 2001 is the £3 gallon of petrol in the UK, but this has not constrained the re-creational or tourist use of the car for pleasure travel. The car remains convenient and flexible, and adds a degree of readily available mobility which is not constrained by public transport timetables. Probably the greatest constraint for the car is in accommodating the space demand in relation to recreational and tourist routeways in coastal environments (*i.e.* parking space). There is also growing evidence from the public sector of pressure in some coastal environments to exclude the car from certain areas. The car may reduce what the geographer terms 'the friction of distance', making coastal environments attractive and accessible to urban-dwellers. However, one has to place the coastal environment in the wider recreational and tourist context of participation levels. Patmore (1971: 76-7) aptly summarised this issue where 'The nearest seaside or open moorland may lure people from conurbations six times a year, while the local park is used every day to exercise the dog.' This hierarchy of tourism and leisure resources can often be overlooked.

Access to the coastal environment is a key term, though as Patmore (1971) argued it was a relative term, since improvements in transport routes and technology may directly change the nature of the access. The historical geographer's emphasis on the role of railway companies in Victorian Britain has identified their function as developing major visitor hinterlands for specific coastal resorts. Even some 150 years later, coastal resorts still have a limited reliance upon the rail network as a source of visitors, although the car is by far the most important mode of travel for recreational trips. The coastal environment and the routeways developed along coastlines, with viewing areas and a network of attractions, may also be a major recreational resource. For example on the upper North Island of New Zealand, the collaboration between regional tourism organisations (see Page *et al.* 1999) created the Pacific Coastal Highway scenic drive. Not only did this utilise coastal routeways that receive comparatively limited traffic outside of the main summer season, but it also reduced congestion on other routeways between Auckland and the Bay of Islands.

Geographers have also examined one other contentious element of movement in coastal environments: the use of recreational footpaths (Huxley 1970). These are a major routeway resources, a linear recreation resource that often transects a linear recreational resource that often transects a variety of other leisure resources, from the coastline to the built environment through to the countryside. Many countries contain dense networks of

footpaths, with Patmore (1971) referring to an estimated 120,000 miles in England and Wales. The issue is contentious, especially in coastal environment where the coastline is adjacent to privately owned land, and access is carefully guarded. In England and Wales, the designation of Heritage Coasts (Romeril 1988) has improved access issues and provided an opportunity for management agreements to be developed between private landowners and planners.

Tourist and Recreational Behaviour: Use and Activity Patterns in Coastal Environments

Among the influential studies by geographers from the 1970s were the development of a behavioural geography and its application to recreation and tourism, especially in relation to coastal environments. Mercer (1971a: 51) summarised the significance of the behavioural perspective where 'The values and attributes of any outdoor recreation site, whether a local neighbourhood park or major wilderness area are perceived somewhat differently by numerous sub-groups with society.' Mercer (1971a) outlined the recreationalists' decision-making process (subsequently modified by Pigram 1983), and the meaning attached to tourism and recreational experiences. Mercer's (1970) analysis of recreational trips to beaches in Melbourne highlighted the urban resident's vague notion of the outdoor recreational opportunities open to them. The role of image in choosing beach environments is an important factor, and may override concerns of overcrowding and even pollution. Perceived distance and accessibility are also important factors affecting recreational search behaviour, and may account for why certain coastal environments attract large crowds and others do not. In England and Wales, the coast is not more than 120 km away for the most inland population, and, building on the model by Pearce and Kirk (1986), it is evident that the coast contains a variety of recreational environments: the shore, beach and the marine environment (Orams 1999). Each resource is perceived in a variety of ways by different individuals and groups, and the potential for resource conflict is high unless research can harmonise the needs and wishes of multiple resource users.

There is also a need to understand fundamental differences in the user's perception of the developed coastal resort and the nature of the natural environment, such as the beach, sea and coasting, because as Patmore (1983: 209) remarked, 'the coast is the epitome of the wider problems of recreational use' of resources. The behaviour and activities of coastal tourists and recreationists are therefore vital to understanding the nature of the problems and impacts which occur. The use of coastal environment is very much temporarily contingent on the availability of leisure time as holidays and free time at weekends. This led Patmore (1983: 158) to argue that 'on a day-to-day basis, holidaymakers' patterns of activities within the holiday area differ, but little from the use of day visitors... Little attention, however, has been given to the sequence of those activities as the holiday progresses.' One of the seminal studies which addressed this topic was Cooper's (1981) analysis of holiday maker patterns of behaviour in Jersey. As a laboratory for tourism research, Jersey offers many attractions, for it is almost a closed system with a limited number of resorts, attractions and defined tourist itineraries.

What Cooper (1981) observed was a spatial and temporal pattern of tourist use of the coastal environment and non-coastal resources. For example, the holiday begins at

the tourist's accommodation to maximise uncertainty in visiting unknown places. As a result, at St Heliers (the location of two thirds of the island's accommodation stock), 75 per cent of tourists surveyed spent their first day in the town. After that point a growing spatial awareness of coastal resources develops, and the two most popular beaches (St Brelade's Bay and Gorey) are visited on days two and three. The touring of the island to derive spatial familiarity with the tourist resources also occurred on days two and three. As spatial knowledge of the island develops, smaller and lesser known recreational sites were visited. What Cooper's (1981) research highlighted was a wave pattern in visitation, as visitors' use of resources especially the use of the coastal environment) moves down the hierarchy, spreading to a wider distribution of sites. This reveals a classic geographical diffusion process and offers a great deal of advice for planners and coastal management.

D.G. Pearce (1988a) continued the interest in tourist behaviour using a time budget methodology in 1985 in Vanuatu (South Pacific) to extend Cooper's (1981) research on the tourists filtering down the hierarchy of sites. This behavioural research had an explicit spatial focus—patterns of tourist circulation. The problem with Pearce's (1988a) island-based study was the geographically constrained activity patterns of visitors, with resort hotels at Vila dominating the activities.

Probably one of the most interesting studies published by geographers in recent years was Tunstall and Penning-Roswell's (1998) review of the English beach. As they observed:

England's beaches and coasts have a special place in the nations consciousness. A day at the English beach is a particularly notable experience, full of rituals, symbolism, nostalgia and myths. The holiday at the coast, or the day visit, brings special activities, enjoyment and memories that brings special activities, enjoyment and memories that virtually no other recreational experience provides. The English beach, with its particular characteristics and contexts, holds special meanings for those it attracts, and creates experiences which have life-long echoes.

(Tunstall and Penning-Roswell 1998: 319)

In their analysis of the beach, they precisely identify it as the inter-tidal zone, the area which occurs above the high-watermark where beach material exists (*i.e.* sand, shingle and mud). The significance of the coast is epitomised in the UK Day Visits Survey, with over 137 million visits a year in England to rural areas, seaside resorts and the coastline. Cultural geographies of the beach and coastal environment (*i.e.* Shields 1991) mark the change, continuity and endurance of the beach as a social construction. In the post-war period, the English coastline has also attracted a growing retirement migration (see Cosgrove and Jackson (1972) for an early analysis of this trend in the UK), increasing the recreational appeal of these environments. This is complemented by the rise of second homeownership in coastal locations (Coppock 1977a). Some coastal resorts have also sought to diversify their appeal, with the development of conference and convention business (Shaw and Williams 1997). What Tunstall and Penning Rowsell (1998) recognised was that the coastal resort, and particularly the beach/seawall/ promenade which protects the RBD from nature, is a costly infrastructure that needs ongoing investment.

Using a longitudinal research technique which focused on 15 beaches in England over a decade, preferences towards beaches and protection methods to consider the values attached to beaches were examined. A model of beach users' attitudes and values was developed to explain the factors which contribute to the values attached to beaches. The role or recreational constraints (*i.e.* time and income), frequency of visitation, cost of visit, tastes and values (*i.e.* subjective enjoyment value) and the values assigned to specific resorts and beaches were incorporated into the model. A range of popular and less popular beaches were examined with some commercial resort towns and smaller towns included. Each location had the potential to experience beach erosion problems. Among the main factors motivating beach visits to popular recreational sites were the cleanliness of the site, type of beach material available, the natural setting and familiarity with the site. In the case of undeveloped coasts such as Spurn Head (Humberside), the quietness and natural setting were important attractions. The convenience of access and a number of other factors were important (albeit in varying degrees according to the place visited) as pull factors, including:

- the town and its facilities;
- quality of the sea front promenade;
- characteristics of the beach;
- the coastal scenery;
- scenery and places to visit in the hinterland;
- suitability of the sea for swimming and paddling;
- convenience of the journey;
- cost of the trip.

(Modified from Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell 1998)

What Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell's (1998) study confirm is Patmore's (1983) earlier assertion on the diversity of coastal resources and reasons for visiting them. The coast, the sea, the seashore and landscape are all integral elements associated with the social, aesthetic and cultural meaning attached to the coast. However, 'There is considerable diversity in what attracted visitors to particular places but it is clear that seafront elements were more important at almost all locations than other aspects of the resort' (Tunstall and Penning Rowsell 1998: 323). What detracted from visitation at specific sites were sewage, cleanliness, litter and the water-bathing quality, though as Morgan (1999) found, even the visitors perception of these issues was complex to deconstruct and explain, since perception and behaviour were not necessarily rational and predictable.

In temporal and spatial terms, Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell (1998) found that beach visits are not only experienced differently but have different meanings. This varied according to residents, day visitors and tourists. For residents, the beach was a local leisure resource, a regular and routine element of their everyday lives (similar to parks for urban-dwellers). For the day visitor, the beach was construed as a special event, as occurrence perhaps experienced only a couple of times a year. For holiday makers, it is a special

experience, but one often repeated with tourists who return to the same location year on year. What is culturally significant with a beach visit is the way in which it can enable the visitor to recollect childhood memories and a process repeated through time by families. It also marks a social occasion, with large proportions arriving by car as groups of two to four. In the summer season, beach visits are interconnected with families and young children. Even so, the beach readily accommodates solitary visitors, and in some locations up to one-third of users are unaccompanied. In this respect, the beach can function like a park with its ability to accommodate a multitude of users.

The amount of time spent at the beach varied by resort, with the majority of people spending less than four hours on the beach. It was typically between two and four hours in duration. Beach activities included a diversity of marine activities (sailboarding, jetskiing for a minority) through to a common range of activities including:

- sitting/sunbathing/picnicking on the beach;
- sitting/sunbathing/picnicking on the promenade;
- swimming/paddling;
- walking/strolling on the promenade/cliffs;
- long walks of 3 km or more;
- informal games or sports;
- walking the dog;
- playing with sand, stones and shells.

(Modified from Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell 1998)

This shows that while activities are important, so is relaxing and passive pastimes. This seminal study by Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell (1998: 330) not only recognised that 'English beaches are important to the English' but that environmental concerns for pollution and the quality of the resource are important to recreationalists, tourists and residents alike. The following assessment by Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell (1998: 331) really encapsulates the wider meaning, significance and values of the beach.

The English seaside and its beaches are special because they are special places to play, to relax, to exercise or to enjoy. They bring back memories—mainly of families and childhood. They are places of discovery and adventure, and contact with nature. Their meanings come from these imaginings and these activities, and from the repeated visits to the same familiar and reassuring locales. Their beaches have a coherence that derives from their enduring physical character waves, tides and noise and from the assemblage of features that keeps them there; the sea-wall, the promenade and the groyne. Each is understood and valued, for their timelessness and familiarity.

A number of novel studies of beach behaviour by non-geographers have also been undertaken (Carr 1999) which explore the youth market and their behaviour within resorts (e.g. Ford and Eiser 1996), particularly the meaning and significance of the beach and

liminality. What Carr (1999) emphasised was that there were comparatively few gendered differences in leisure and tourism activities among visitors aged 18 to 24 years of age. In fact, these results appear to confirm the findings of Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell (1998), in that the resort and beach are major attractions for coastal tourism. Other studies published in non-geographical journals (e.g. Morgan *et al.* 1993) have also examined issues of perception among beach users, but the literature is increasingly scattered across a wide range of coastal-related journals which are not necessarily tourism—or recreation-related. However, Morgan's (1999) examination of beach rating systems for tourist beaches highlighted the contribution which coastal researchers can make to understanding the perception of beach users.

By using beach awards, such as the European Blue Flag, the Seaside Award and Good Beach Guide (Marine Conservation Society 1998), there are indications of a growing interest in the promotion of beach tourism in relation to quality measures (Williams and Morgan 1995). Even so, poor public knowledge of these rating schemes and their significance, even though in the EU the number of Blue Flag beaches increased from 1,454 in 1994 to 1,927 in 19 countries in 1998. Morgan (1999) assessed 70 beaches in Wales and concluded that beaches are different, with users having different preferences in line with Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell's (1998) study.

Environmental Perspectives on Coastal Recreation and Tourism

The environment for coastal leisure pursuits has seen the geographer make a number of influential contributions from a range of perspectives. In the early analysis of the coastline for tourism and recreation, Cosgrove and Jackson (1972) identified the vital characteristic which makes the coast a major focal point for geographical analysis: it is a zonal resource, with activities concentrated at specific places, making management a key issue in time and space. Although the coast may have a number of different resource designations (e.g. Heritage Coastline and Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty in England and Wales), the impacts of tourism and recreation are multi faceted. In the wide-ranging study by the German Federal Agency for Nature Conservation (1997), the dominant coastline regions globally were the Mediterranean, the Caribbean, the Gulf of Mexico, the Indian Ocean islands, Australasia and the Pacific Islands. In this context, the coastal resource is a global environmental issue which is complex, diverse and not simply reduced to beach resorts, as the discussion has alluded so far. (See Visser and Njunga's (1992) examination of the Kenyan coastline where the ecological diversity in the coastal environment comprises coral reefs, sea grass and seaweed beds, mangrove forests, sanddunes and inland tropical forests.)

According to the German Federal Agency for Nature Conservation (1997), coastal tourism environments may be categorised as follows:

- oceanic islands;
- coral reefs;
- offshore waters;
- mangroves;

- near-coastal wetlands;
- sandy beaches;
- coastal dunes.

In terms of the environments under the greatest recreational and tourism pressure are sandy beaches followed by coastal dunes (see Nordstom *et al.* (2000) for a review of management practices to restore dunes). Within a European context, the principal erosion and sedimentation processes affecting coastal environments are related to natural processes including:

- wave and tidal action;
- geomorphological factors (*e.g.* rivers which impact upon the river mouth and deltas);
- meteorological factors (*e.g.* wind and storms);
- changes in sea-level;
- geological processes (*e.g.* seismic and volcanic activity).

In addition, the European coastline is also subjected to a great number of environmental stresses to the point where some researchers consider it to be under the greatest pressure of any coastal environment globally (German Federal Agency for Nature Conservation 1997). As a consequence, the pressures from the natural environment are being compounded by:

- large scale pollution by oil spills;
- the development of harbours;
- increasing shore erosion caused by sediment processes are interrupted by building on the coastline;
- high levels of freshwater removal which is causing salt-water to encroach upon the water-table;
- increasing impacts from tourism and recreational activities. Approximately 100 million tourists visit the European coastline annually, a figure which could rise to 230 million by 2030.

Some of the visible signs of environmental deterioration include water pollution, and the rise of algal blooms. This problem is exacerbated by sewage pollutants where nutrient enrichment leads to algal blooms. In the Mediterranean between 1900 and 1990 there was a 75 per cent loss of sand dunes in France and Spain due to sand loss. This is a clear indication of the scale of the problem in relation to tourism which is sand—and beach-dependent. How has the geographer contributed to the wider understanding, analysis and debates associated with coastal environments for recreation and tourism?

The physical geographer (*e.g.* May 1993) has examined the geomorphological characteristics which underlie the creation of existing coastal environments. In the case of the Cape coastline in South Africa, Burns, *et al.* (1990) indicated the need to develop tourism

according to sound environmental principles. They argued that the physical characteristics of soft shorelines need to be recognised, and near-shore and aeolian sediment transport regimes must be understood and quantified. This highlighted the active nature of the littoral zone of coastlines, so that long-term shore erosion can be reduced to create recreational environments. What emerges from much of the literature on beach erosion, particularly dune erosion, particularly dune erosion, is that intervention is a costly strategy. In the case of Florida 'there has been a tendency to build so close to the shoreline as possible: Florida is no exception. Such actions have destroyed dunes, wetlands and beaches which formed protective barriers against storms and floods' (Carter 1990: 8). In the historical analysis of coastline destruction in Florida, Carter (1990: 8-9) examined the speed of environmental degradation where

The first shoreline buildings were beach houses in the dunes. Very often the seawardmost dunes were lowered or removed altogether to give a view of the sea. Very soon, house owners became aware of shoreline changes, especially natural erosion, and began to protect against it. Much of this protection was unapproved, unsightly and ineffective. Along the east coast, bulkheads and groynes were common after 1925, yet the mid 1930s, much of the duneline was destroyed...It quickly became clear that such an approach was exacerbating erosion, and there was mounting pressure for official assistance...Florida became a natural laboratory for shore protection devices, including inlet bypassing and back-passing, beach nourishment and diverse species of revetments, break waters and groynes... Not all were successful.

What emerged from Carter's (1990) study was that by the 1980s, of the 870 km of Florida's coastline, 40 per cent of the coastline with sand dunes was under threat which also affected roads, houses and other development. Much of the impact is recreation and tourism-related, since in areas where no recreation occurs, no erosion exists. In the case of Denmark, Nielsen (1990) examined the positive enhancement of the environment with the creation of Koege Bay Beach Park in 1980 to meet the recreational needs of the Greater Copenhagen area. Using land reclamation methods, including extensive beach nourishment, a new beach environment was created. Some 5 million cubic metres of sand were used, dredged from lagoon areas and a 20 m wide dyke was built of sand to a height of 3 m above sea-level. Various environmental management measures were needed, including sluices for the lagoon environment to prevent stagnant water. A programme of planting on the dunes was also implemented to stabilise the resource. By developing the beach park to fit the underlying geomorphology, it represents a good example of an attempt to develop a sustainable leisure resource although it is not without environmental effects. However, the time frame is too short at this stage to observe long-term consequences and impacts or to assess the extent to which it is truly sustainable resource. What is clear is that where significant demand exists in close proximity to an urban population, the creation of a local resource may act as a honey-pot and attract a significant number of visitors, taking pressure off other sites.

What Nielsen (1990) identified was the close involvement in physical geographers' monitoring and evaluation of coastal processes to understand how the coastal

geomorphology will respond to such a radical change—the creation of a new recreational environment. In a detailed coastal geomorphological study of the German coastline, Kelletat (1993) documented the major beach nourishment needed for islands along the German North Sea Coast. This was due to tourism, recreation and storms. However, in a study of Sylt Island, the growth of tourism has also provided the impetus and funding for coastal tourism on islands of the German North Sea Coast (Kelletat 1993).

A range of other studies (e.g. D.G. Pearce 1988a; Carter *et al.* 1990; McDowell *et al.* 1990) have also documented the recreation, the production of coastal recreation strategies and coastal management plans to co-ordinate decision-making in the coastal zone. The diverse range of interest groups associated with coastal environments highlights the complexity of developing management plans where collaboration, communication and management solutions are introduced to control tourist and recreational use.

One related aspect of the geographers' interest in the coastal environment has been the development of resorts and planning measures to manage these physical impacts. In a conceptual context, the dynamics of resort development and change have hinged on the Butler (1980) model, and subsequent criticisms (e.g. Cooper and Jackson 1989; Cooper 1990) and concerns with the post-stagnation phase (Agarwal 1994; Priestley and Munder 1998). This distinguishes between the land-use and physical planning and management measures needed for the coastal environment and strategic planning measures needed to ensure the long-term prosperity, viability and development of the resort. The concern with land use and planning measures has been well documented in Inskeep (1994), D.G. Pearce (1989, 1995b) with specific examples of planning measures implemented in resort development documented by Meyer-Arendt (1990) and Wong (1986, 1990). In a detailed study by Penning-Rowsell *et al.* (1992), the economic cost of coastal protection schemes of recreation and other purposes and various valuation techniques were reviewed.

One of the most recent syntheses of coastal recreation management was produced by Goodhead and Johnson (1996) where the planning issues affecting recreation and tourism activity in the marine environment were reviewed in a UK context. Although not developed by geographers, the text offers a useful range of perspectives on the planning process for marine and coastal documenting land use change but really neglects the key point: the coast, the beach and the resort are major cultural icons in a postmodern society, retaining much of their value, meaning and significance from previous eras. In this context, the experience of the coast, the beach, the resort and of the place are socially and culturally conditioned. There is a continuity in the transmission and formation of values of the beach the coast which may help to explain the ongoing love affair the recreationalist and tourist has with such special 'places.' In historical terms, the resort morphology, rules, meanings and behaviour embodied, in the coastal environment have changed in line with what society will tolerate, condone and legitimate. But these special, highly valued, natural and manmade environments remain central to the recreational and tourist experience of leisure places and space. For most social groups, the coastline is a social leveller, a free resource to be enjoyed and consumed according to the vagaries of the season and weather.

Insight: Cruise Tourism

Cruise tourism has become significant for a number of ports because cruise tourists are higher yield tourists, spending, on average, much higher amounts per day than other categories of international tourists (Dwyer and Forsyth 1996, 1998; Ritter and Schafer 1999). In a study of cruise tourism in Australia Dwyer and Forsyth (1996) reported that home-porting emphasis on flycruise packages for inbound tourists, had the greatest potential for generating large expenditure inflows to Australia. In addition, they reported that because of leakages due to foreign ownership and foreign sourcing of inputs, the average expenditure per passenger per cruise injected into the Australian economy is twice as great for the coastal as opposed to the international cruise. Nevertheless, there is significant debate over the impacts of cruise ships. Ritter and Schafer (1999), for example, argue that the ecological impact of cruises is low; spending by individual tourists high, and accultural processes minimal, and claim that although the number of jobs directly created as a result of cruises is low, it compare very favourably against most other forms of travel as a sustainable development option. In contrast, Marsh and Staple (1995) in a study of cruise tourism in the Canadian Arctic concluded that given the environmental fragility of much of the region and the vulnerability of small, remote, largely aboriginal communities to impact, great care should be exercised in using the area for cruise tourism. Similarly, in examining some of the cultural dimensions of the cruise ship experience, Wood (2000) argued that the global nature of the cruise market has meant that cruise ships have become examples of 'globalisation at sea' with corresponding deterritorialisation, cultural theming and simulation. In addition, concern over the environmental impacts of cruise ships led the United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to host a series of meeting in 2000 to solicit input from the public, the cruise ship industry and other stakeholders on the issue of discharges from cruise ships. These meetings were part of an information-gathering effort on the part of the agency to prepare an in-depth assessment of environmental impacts and existing and potential measures to abate impacts from these discharges. Cruise discharges are currently regulated through a combination of domestic and international pollution prevention laws and the EPA was assessing whether these laws adequately protect the environment and whether there are gaps in coverage or in application of these laws which may pose a risk to the environment (Rethinking Tourism Project 2000).

Conclusion

The coastal environment has been neglected in one sense by the geographer, where recreational and tourism activity have not been understood in the wide context of the resource, its use, impacts and planning needs. The recent development of studies by Tunstall and Penning-Rowse (1998) has reestablished the geographers' major contribution to the analysis of coastal recreation and tourism, building on seminal studies by Fabbri (1990) and Wong (1993b). Yet even these are not cited as mainstream studies or recognised for their synthesising role in bringing together different disciplines to disseminate a diverse and rich range of experience and knowledge of coastal processes, impacts, applied research and concerns about the leisure use of fragile coastal environments. The coastline needs to be moved higher up the geographers' research agenda in tourism

and recreation, reiterating Patmore's (1983) criticism of the comparative neglect of this issue. Given the value and significance attached to the beach and coast observed by Tunstall and Penning-Rowsell (1998), it is evident that the coast is a major recreational environment. The association with resorts and the geographers' preoccupation with report and the geographers' preoccupation with resort models and development should arguably be directed to a fuller understanding of the impact of man on the understanding of the impact of man on the coastal environment, particularly the interference with coastal processes and the resulting measures needed to redress the consequences for the coastal environment.

There is no doubt that the coastal environment is facing a wide range of environmental pressures not least of which is the intensity of use. This, combined with environmental impacts from human activity, poses many severe planning problems for one simple reason: the scale and rate of change associated with coastal processes (e.g. erosion) are rapid, and the examples provided by Carter (1990) and Kellett (1993) have shown. This requires costly remedial action, particularly in the case of beach nourishment and in coastal protection schemes where the natural environments is directly altered by tourist and recreational development.

Given the potential impacts of tourism on the coastal environment it is therefore not surprising that organisations such as ESCAP (1995a, 1995b) have been trying to encourage sustainable forms of coastal development of coastal tourism is recognised as being dependent on:

1. good coastal management practices (particularly regarding proper siting of tourism infrastructure and the provision of public access);
2. clean water and air, and healthy coastal ecosystems;
3. maintaining a safe and secure recreational environment through the management of coastal hazards (such as erosion, storms, floods), and the provision of adequate levels of safety for boaters, swimmers and other water users;
4. beach restoration efforts that maintain the recreational and amenity values of beaches;
5. sound policies for wildlife and habitat protection.

(NCAA 1997)

However, such a statement, while laudable, fails to reflect the complexities and difficulties of the management and regulation of tourism with respect to the physical environment. Unfortunately, there is usually little or no co-ordination between programmes that promote and market tourism and those that aim to manage coastal and marine areas (Smith 1994; Hudson 1996). Environmental or planning agencies often fail to understand tourism, while tourism promotion authorities tend not to be involved with the evaluation of its effects or its planning and management. Implementation strategies often fail to recognise the interconnections that exist between agencies in trying to manage environmental issues, particularly when, as in the case of the relationship between tourism and the environment, responsibilities may cut across more traditional lines of authority.

Therefore, one of the greatest challenges facing coastal managers is how to integrate tourism development within the ambit of coastal management and thus increase the likelihood of long-term sustainability of the coast as a whole (White *et al.* 1997; Cicin-Sain and Knecht 1998). Nevertheless, solving such dilemmas will clearly be of importance to many countries in the region which has substantial emphasis on marine and coastal tourism, particularly when environmental quality becomes another means to achieve a competitive edge in the tourism market place.

The coastal environment has a great deal of potential for the cultural and social geographer to explore the value and role of tourism and recreation in these leisure places. There is also a role for applied geographers to combine their skills with planners, to understand, explain and develop planning measures to safeguard these threatened environments. The coastal environment is one of the best examples where geographers can harness their ability to construct a holistic understanding of the human and physical environment in a coastal context, where the interactions, impacts and measures needed to ameliorate negative effects can be addressed. The past 30 years have, with a few notable exceptions, not seen the geographical fraternity rise to this challenge and lead the coastal research agenda in a tourism and recreational context. One would hope, indeed expect, geographers to engaged their skills, buildings on a long tradition of the geographers' involvement with the recreational and tourism use of the coast.

Tourism and Recreation Planning and Policy

Geographers have long been interested in planning. Indeed, a number of academic departments combine geography and planning, while many geography students have gone on to specialise in planning as a professional career. Planning and the associated area of policy analysis are therefore substantive areas of applied geographical research, particularly as geographers have sought to make their work more relevant to the society in which they work (Johnston 1991).

It should therefore come as no surprise that tourism and recreation planning and policy have long been major areas of interest for geographers. This chapter examines the nature of recreation and tourism planning and policy and then goes on to discuss the contributions that geographers have made in these fields, particularly with respect to the role of planning and policy at a regional or destination level. More specific applications in recreational and tourism planning have been introduced in earlier chapters and so this chapter discusses many of the principles, concepts and geographical contributions to the field as a whole.

Recreation Planning Policy

According to Henry and Spink (1990: 33), the 'treatment of leisure planning in the literature can be described as unsystematic and fragmented. At the outset it is important to make the distinction between the organisational planning which commercial bodies in leisure and recreation conduct, and statutory planning which the public sector undertake, where the public good is normally the underlying rationale. The public sector is often charged with the management and maintenance of facilities, locational issues and wider strategic goals for the population.' To understand the evolution of recreation planning and the role of public sector agencies, it is useful to briefly examine the historical context.

The Evolution of Leisure and Recreation Planning

In many industrialising nations, the nineteenth century saw the intervention by philanthropists and reformer to address the squalor and living conditions of the working population, embodied in government legislation. Environmental improvement was predicated on the notion that it has a positive effect on the human condition. This shaped government legislation where a wide range of utopian, humanitarian and determinist attitudes (see Taylor 1999) were reflected in the debates on improvement. In the UK, the 1909 Housing and Town Planning Bill highlighted the need for government intervention to generate more socially appropriate forms of landuse which market forces would not address (*i.e.* public open space). Table 3.1 summarises the subsequent role in the state in town and planning in relation to leisure, where political ideology shaped the nature of state intervention in the UK. In a rural context, the 1968 Countryside Act established a network of country parks, picnic sites, nature trails and bird sanctuaries. This was accompanied by the state's division of planning powers into two levels of local government: structure plans came under county and regional authorities, with a view to a 10 to 20 year timeframe and framework for local plans which were the responsibility of district authorities. Despite subsequent modifications in the 1980s and 1990s in the 'retreat from state planning', these two levels of planning remain. They can also be discerned in many other countries. Much of their concern has been with landuse planning and sites specific planning for recreation, since this has been the public sector concern: the ordering of leisure space and provision through time.

Recreation Planning: The Concern with Space and Place

According to Pigram and Jenkins (1999: 270), 'In the planning of recreation of recreation space, the aim should be to provide a range of functional and aesthetically pleasing environments for outdoor recreation, which avoid the friction of unplanned development, without lapsing into uniformity and predictability.' Since people decide on recreation participation as a discretionary use of time and on a voluntary basis planning is beset by a wide range of factors that need to be considered. One of the most persuasive issues is the trends and taste in leisure and outdoor recreation. Here the problem is aim matching potential demand to the supply of recreation space, while a growing sophistication among recreation users means issues such as quality and satisfaction are also important in public sector provision.

There is also a temporal and cyclical factor which is often overlooked, namely that in times of economic downturn, recreation assumes a new dimension in the amelioration of hardship (Glyptis 1989b). At the same time, such economic stringencies may also put the public sector under increased pressure in terms of its priorities for resource allocation (*i.e.* what is the opportunity cost of additional expenditure on leisure provision). At the local planning level, different local authorities will have varying levels of commitment to recreation provision, which will also vary according to the political persuasion of the elected politicians that varies in time and space.

Against this background planners need to understand societal changes, namely demographic trends, lifestyle changes (see the early study by Havbighurst and Friesenbaum 1959), social attitudes to recreation and the increasing demands of ethnic

TABLE 3.1: State intervention: Town and country planning and leisure

	1800-1900	1918-19	1919-39	1939-45	1960s	1980s
Chronology state	<i>Laissez-faire</i> 'property'	Minimal intervention 'conservative' depression reconstruction		Welfare state reformism austerity consensus	Corporate state	'Enterprise' small state Crisis
					Modernisation	Monetarism
Planning acts	1909	1919	1932	1947	1968	1980 1986
Objectives	Improve health and housing	Reconstruct Stop sprawl Protect 'Country'		Reform Socialise Control	Organise Develop Integrate growth	Minimal state Reduce public sector Encourage pri- vate develop- ment
Forms	Possible sche- mes for new building	Schemes for 20,000+ population		Physical plans (6 in. to mile) Development controlled	Socio economic Diagrammatic plans	Enterprise Zones Simplified Planning Zones
Aims	Improve	Resitricit		Construct	Reorganise	Facilitate
Leisure	Private pro- vision	Protection of some green spaces		Detailed plan- ning of ame- nity provision	Broad outline of amenity provi- sion	Market sup- ported Decentralised provision
Implications	Commercially profitable fa- cilities	Largely ineffective attempts to check urban sprawl and preserve rural areas		Reconstruction of town centres	Liveable cities aim	Pressures on central spaces
	Public and private benefaction of leisure spaces			Land use structured		Job creation supported in tourism and leisure
				Specific allo- cation of lei- sure spaces	General landuse implications	

groups (Floyd 1998; Johnson *et al*, 1998) and the disabled and other minority groups to achieve equity goals in local planning for leisure (Shinew and Arnold 1998). In many countries, notably the USA, Canada, New Zealand, Britain and Australia, issues of cultural

pluralism and a multicultural population pose new challenges to conventional notions of recreation planning. Probably one of the greatest technological innovations that now exist to assist planners in integrating these new perspective into social and land use planning is GIS. It enables planner to spatially integrate the demand and supply of recreation and to evaluate possible locational issues and outcomes. This is also invaluable in modelling resource degradation (see Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999) for more detail). In essence, GIS operates on spatial data which have a standard geographical frame of reference. It also utilises attribute data, which are statistical and non-locational. GIS allows planners to link planning goals to basic geographical issues such as recreational impacts (see Briggs and Tantrum (1997) for specific recreational applications and Kliskey and Kearsley (1993) for an application to wilderness perception mapping in New Zealand).

TABLE 3.2: Approaches to Planning for Leisure

<i>Approach</i>	<i>Content</i>
1. Standards	Planning based on per capita specifications of levels of provision laid down by some authoritative body. Usually based on demand estimates.
2. Gross demand	Estimation of broad demand levels based on existing national or regional participation surveys. This is the most basic of demand estimation approaches but can be valid to consider local socio-demographic conditions.
3. Spatial approaches	Localised demand estimation incorporating consideration of facility catchment areas. This extends the gross demand approach when considering the question of facility location.
4. Hierarchies of facilities	Recognises that different type and scales of facility have different catchment areas. Especially relevant for planning new communities and for facilities involving spectator audiences.
5. Grid or matrix approach	Examines impacts of all of an authority's leisure services on all social groups <i>via</i> impact evaluation.
6. Organic approach	Strategy development based on assessment of existing service provision and spatial gaps in demand. It is incremental rather than comprehensive and is common within the private sector.
7. Community development approach	Planning and policy development based on community consultation.
8. Issues approach	Plans based on initial identification of 'key issues' rather than comprehensive needs/ demand assessment. Corresponds to SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats) analysis. Most common for <i>ad hoc</i> , one-off projects.

Source: Based on Veal (1993: 92-3 in Robinson (1999: 260)

Pigram and Jenkins (1999) argued that a more strategic approach to recreation planning is needed but much of the existing practise of planning is concerned with

geographical issues of the availability of recreational issues of the availability of recreational opportunities, the location of services and facilities. Although recreation planning should be a complex process, its application in the public sector often remains a simplistic activity, focused on the provision of specific facilities rather than the wider context of recreation opportunity, desire and provision. According to Robinson (1999), eight approaches to planning for leisure may be discerned and a number of them utilise spatial principles (see Table 3.2). Even in seemingly advanced recreational contexts such as the Netherlands with an enviable reputation for recreation planning, Dictourst (1993: 84) argued that 'During the 1980s it was realised that public tastes had changed and that the amenities for outdoor recreation in many ways no longer satisfied demand. This reflected the changing policy framework which saw a convergence of interest towards recreation and tourism with common goals in terms of provision (Jansen-Verbeke and Dietvorst 1987). Indeed, Dietvorst (1993) criticised the strong normative planning framework prevailing in the Netherlands as not offering flexible and market-oriented forms of outdoor recreation. What is clear is that the state, its agencies (e.g. the newly amalgamated Countryside Agency in the UK) (see Coalter (1990) for more detail on agencies) have a wide remit for the management and planning of outdoor recreation resources given the diversity and extent of recreational environments (Figure 3.1), while the statutory planning framework is based on the twin goals of development plans and development control (Revenscroft 1992). Even so, Ravenscroft (1992: 135) concluded that

the whole framework upon which planning has been predicated has, for the most part, tended to neglect recreation. By largely basing development plans on land use zoning, it has tended to subjugate multiple uses in favour of primary ones...This means that in areas where provision for recreation is seen as important, such as National Parks, primary uses such as agriculture and forestry still dominate...[and] the reactive nature of the planning process means that opportunities to secure recreation provision are not taken up.

In fact, the political processes associated with local authority recreation planning and issues such as planning gain are increasingly being used by developers as betterment payments for the right to develop, making recreation and community benefit a tool to exercise leverage on planning applications.

Tourism Planning and Policy

The partially industrialised nature of tourism means that tourism, like the environment, should be regarded as a meta-problem which represents highly interconnected planning and policy 'messes' (Ackoff 1974) which cut across fields of expertise and administrative boundaries and, seemingly, become connected with almost everything else. Tourism, therefore, 'is merely an acute instance of the central problem of society' (P. Hall 1992: 249) of creating a sense of the whole which can then be effectively planned and managed. Nevertheless, planning for tourism is still regarded as important because its effects are so substantial and potentially long-standing. Indeed, concern with making tourism, along with all development, sustainable has provided an even greater imperative for developing relevant tourism planning frameworks (Hall 2000a). Yet despite

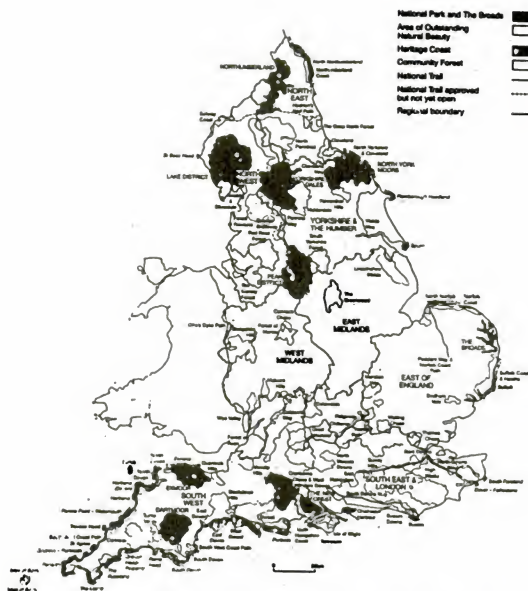


Figure 3.1: The Countryside Agency's designated and defined interests

use by tourism researchers of the evolving network paradigm in management literature (e.g. Selin 1993, 1998; Selin and Chavez 1994; Jamal and Getz 1995; Buhalis and Cooper 1998) there has been, given the central role of government in tourism promotion and development, surprisingly little reference to the wider planning public policy literature which analyses what has been, until recently, a 'neglected' aspect of contemporary administration and policy-making (O'Toole 1997).

Planning for tourism has traditionally focused on land use zoning, site development, accommodation and building regulations, the density of tourist development, the presentation of cultural, historical and natural tourist features, and the provision of infrastructure including roads and sewage (Getz 1987). However, in recent years, tourism planning has adapted and expanded to include broader environmental and socio-cultural concerns, and the need to develop and promote economic development

strategies at local, regional and national scales, particularly within an increasingly globalised tourism environment (Hall 2000a).

The diverse nature of recreation and tourism has meant that the industry is difficult for policy makers and planners to define and grasp conceptually. This has meant that there have been substantial difficulties for policy makers to develop appropriate policies, while the co-ordination of the various elements of the recreation and tourism product has been extremely difficult (Hall 1994; Hall and Jenkins 1995). Yet, somewhat paradoxically, it is the very nature of the industry, particularly the way in which local communities, their culture and lifestyles, and the environment are part of the broad leisure product which makes planning so important (Murphy 1985) and, perhaps, academically appealing (Hall *et al.* 1997).

Planning and policy-making are 'filtered through a complex institutional framework' (Brooks 1993: 79). However, the institutional arrangements for tourism have received little attention in the tourism literature (Pearce 1992b; Hall and Jenkins 1995; Hall 2000a). Institutions may be thought of as a set of rules which may be explicit and formalised (e.g. constitutions, statutes and regulations) or implicit and informal (e.g. organisation culture, rules governing personal networks and family relationships). Thus institutions are an entity devised to order interrelationships between individuals or groups of individuals by influencing their behaviour. As a concept and as an aspect of tourism policy-making, institutions cast a wide net; they are extensive and pervasive forces in the tourism policy system. In a broad context, O'Riordan (1971: 135) observed that:

One of the least touched upon, but possibly one of the most fundamental, research needs in resource management [and indeed, tourism management] is the analysis of how institutional arrangements are formed, and how they evolve in response to changing needs and the existence of internal and external stresses. There is growing evidence to suggest that the form, structure and operational guidelines by which resource management institutions are formed and evolve clearly affect the implementation of resource policy, both as to the range of choice adopted and the decision attitudes of the personnel involved.

Institutions therefore 'place constraint on decision makers and help shape outcomes...by making some solutions harder, rather than by suggesting positive alternatives' (Simeon 1976: 574). As the number of check-points for policy increase, so too does the potential for bargaining and negotiation. In the larger-term, 'institutional arrangements may themselves be seen as policies, which, by building in to the decision process the need to consult particular groups and follow particular procedure, increase the likelihood of some kinds of decisions and reduced that of others' (Simeon 1976: 575). For example, new government departments may be established as part of the growth in the activity and influence of government, particularly as new demands, such as environmental concerns, reach a high priority on the political agenda.

The setting up of entirely new government departments, advisory bodies or sections within the existing administration is a well established strategy on the part of government for demonstrating loudly and clearly that 'something positive

is being done' with respect to a given problem. Moreover, because public service bureaucracies are inherently conservative in terms of their approach to problem delineation and favoured mode of functioning...administrative restructuring, together with the associated legislation, is almost always a signification indicator of public pressure for action and change.

(Mercer 1979b: 107)

The implications of the structure and nature of the tourist industry are not merely academic as it is difficult for government to develop policies and design institutions for a policy area that is hard to determine (Jenkins 1994). Indeed, quality information concerning the tourist industry is relatively limited when compared to the collection of information on other industries and sectors of the economy. Hall and Jenkins (1995) even hypothesise that there is an element of inexperience in tourism policy formulation and implementation, as much government activity in the tourist industry is relatively recent when compared with other traditional concerns of government, such as economic, manufacturing and social welfare, and suggest that tourism public policies are therefore likely to be *ad hoc* and incremental. Indeed, Hall (2000a) in a review of the role of government in New Zealand tourism identified three government agencies with primary responsibilities with respect to tourism policy and over 30 agencies with secondary responsibilities, with there typically being very little formal tourism policy co-ordination between the various agencies. Such a situation through should not be surprising, since the nature of tourism means that it cuts across a range of government responsibilities which make policy and planning co-ordination inherently difficult unless a lead agency is clearly identified.

What is Tourism Planning?

What is planning? 'Planning is a process, a process of human thought and action based upon that thought—in point of fact, forethought, thought for the future—nothing more or less than this is planning, which is a very general human activity' (Chadwick 1971: 24). Similarly, according to Hall (1982a: 303), planning 'should aim to provide a resource for democratic and informed decision-making. This is all planning can legitimately do, and all it can pretend to do. Properly understood, this is the real message of the systems revolution in planning and its aftermath.' Hall's (1982a) observation reflects Johnston's (1991: 209) comment that underlying the geographer's involvement in planning and policy in 'the basic thesis that geographers should be much more involved in the creation and monitoring and policies', yet, as he went on to note, 'what sort of involvement.

As a general field of research, tourism planning has mirrored broader trends within the urban and regional planning traditions (e.g. Getz 1986a, 1987; Hall 2000a) primarily because it has been focused on destination planning rather than individual tourism business planning. Moreover, planning for tourism tends to reflect the economic, environmental and social goals of government and, increasingly, industry interests, at which ever level the planning process is being carried out (Hall *et al.* 1997).

Planning for tourism occurs in a number of forms (development, infrastructure, promotion and marketing): structures (different government and non-government organisation); scales (international, national, regional, local and sectoral) and time

(different time scales for development, implementation and evaluation). However, planning is rarely exclusively devoted to tourism *per se*. Instead, planning for tourism tends to be 'an amalgam of economic, social and environmental considerations' which reflect the diversity of the factors which influence tourism development (Heeley 1981: 61). In contrast, recreational planning has assumed a more integrated form, being an integral part of most public sector planning schemes alongside other fundamental themes such as housing. Demonstrates this is very evident in urban areas. In this respect, recreation is often a local need-based activity or a regional planning function to deal with the impacts, needs and effects of visitors on the host community. The contribution of recreation to quality of life issues in the local and visitor population, particularly in park, national park and natural areas, remains a well-developed planning activity as described by Patmore (1983) and contributions in Lavery (1971) (which note the contribution of geographers to natural area and wilderness planning activities). Therefore, recreational activity has emerged as largely a public sector exercise where geographers have not made major contributions to the methodology, activities and actions associated with this concept. Where geographers have made major contributions, they have been in the area of policy in the 1970s (e.g. Coppock 1976; Patmore 1973) advising government on sport and recreation policy. For this reason, this chapter focuses on tourism, since recreational planning is more accepted as a public sector activity and geographers have made fewer lasting methodological or critical contributions to recreational planning and policy in the 1980s and 1990s. Furthermore, much of what is considered as tourism outside areas also subsumes recreational activity in natural and wilderness areas.

Tourism planning does not just refer specifically to tourism development and promotion, although these are certainly important. The focus and methods of tourism planning have evolved to meet the demands which have been placed on government with respect to tourism. For example international tourism policies among the developed nations may be divided into four distinct phases (Table 3.3). Of particular importance has been the increased direct involvement of government in regional development environmental regulation and the marketing of tourism, although more recently there has been reduced direct government involvement in the supply of tourism infrastructure involvement in the supply of tourism infrastructure, greater emphasis on the development of public-private partnerships and industry self-regulation.

The attention of government to the potential economic benefits of tourism and recreation has provided the main driving force for tourism planning (Richards 1995; Charlton and Essex 1996). The result has often been 'top-down planning and promotion that leaves destination communities with little input or control over their own destinies' (Murphy 1985: 153). However, attention is gradually becoming focused on the need to integrate social and environmental concerns into the economic thrust of much tourism development (Pearce 1989). Tourism must be integrated within the wider planning process in order to promote certain goals of economic, social and environmental enhancement or maximisation that may be achieved through appropriate tourism development (Hall 1995). As Murphy (1985:156) observed, 'planning is concerned with anticipating and regulating change in a system, to promote orderly development so as to increase the social,

economic, and environmental benefits of the development process'. Therefore, tourism planning must be 'a process, based on research and evaluation, which seeks to optimize the potential contribution of tourism to human welfare and environment quality' (Getz 1987: 3).

TABLE 3.3: International Tourism Policies, 1945 to the Present

<i>Phase</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
1945-55	The dismantling and streamlining of the police, customs, currency and health regulations that had been put into place following the Second World War.
1955-70	Greater government involvement in tourism marketing in order to increase tourism earning potential.
1970-85	Government involvement in the supply of tourism infrastructure and in the use of tourism as a tool of regional development.
1985-present	Continued use of tourism as a tool for regional development, increases focus on environmental issues, reduced direct government involvement in the supply of tourism infrastructure, greater emphasis on the development of public-private partnerships and industry self-regulation, and the development of tourism business networks to meet policy goals.

Source: After Hall (1994, 1999)

Approaches to Tourism Planning

Getz (1987) identified four broad traditions or approaches to tourism planning: 'boosterism', an economic, industry-oriented approach, a physical/spatial approach, and a community-oriented approach which emphasises the role the destination community plays in the tourism experience. As Getz (1987: 5) noted, the four traditions are not mutually exclusive, nor are they necessarily sequential. Nevertheless, this categorisation is a convenient way to examine the different and sometimes overlapping ways in which tourism is planned, and the research and planning methods, problems and models associated with each.'

To these four approaches, Hall (1995) added a further approach. Table 3.4 provides a detailed overview of the components of each tourism planning approach. Different planning approaches, while not mutually exclusive, conceptualise tourism planning in distinct ways. Each perspective differs in its underlying assumptions about planning, problem definition, the appropriate level of analysis and research methods. Researchers, therefore, choose their perspective/s according to their profession, education, values, the organisational context within which they work, and the nature of the planning problem.

Boosterism is the simplistic attitude that tourism development is inherently good and of automatic benefit to the hosts. Residents of tourist destinations are not involved in the decision-making, planning and policy processes surrounding tourism development. According to Getz (1987: 10):

Boosterism is still practised, and always will be, by two groups of people: politicians who philosophically or pragmatically believe that economic growth is always to be promoted, and by others who will gain financially by tourism. They will go on promoting it until the evidence mounts that they have run out of resources to exploit, that the real or opportunity costs are too high, or that political opposition to growth can no longer be countered. By then the real damage has usually been done.

In contrast, an economic planning approach towards tourism aims to promote growth and development in specific areas. The planning emphasis is on the economic impacts of tourism and its most efficient use to create income and employment benefits for regions or communities.

One of the main areas to which geographers have contributed is the physical/spatial approach under which tourism is regarded as having an ecological base with a resultant need for development to be based upon certain spatial patterns, capacities, or thresholds that would minimise the negative impacts of tourism on the physical environment (Getz 1983, 1987). Indeed, much of the concern with the physical and behavioural carrying capacities of specific locations falls into this particular approach. Research by Page and Thorn (1997) in New Zealand reviewed the impact of a market-led approach to tourism planning at the national level where a lack of rational national policy or planning advice has significant implications for local areas which are required to deal with the micro-scale issues. The ability to incorporate sustainable planning principles and to manage visitors sector planning agencies highlighted by Page and Thorn (1997). A more preferable focus for local areas is the contribution which a community approach can make.

A community approach emphasises the social and political context within which tourism occurs and advocates greater local control over the development process. Geographers have also been active in this area, as it builds upon a strong urban and regional planning tradition that is concerned with being relevant to community needs. The most well known exemplar of this approach is the work of Murphy (1985).

A community approach to tourism planning is an attempt to formulate a 'bottom-up' form of planning, which emphasises development *in* the community rather than development *of* the community. Under this approach, residents are regarded as the focal point of the tourism planning exercise note the tourists, and the community, which is often equated with a region of local government, is usually used as the basic planning unit. Nevertheless, substantial difficulties will arise in attempting to implement the concept of community planning in tourist destination. As Dowling (1993: 53) noted, 'research into community attitudes towards tourism is reasonably well developed, although incorporation of such views into the planning process is far less common'. For example, Jenkins (1993) identified seven impediments to incorporating public participation in tourism planning:

TABLE 3.4: Tourism Planning Approaches: Assumption, Problem Definition, Methods and Models

<i>Planning tradition</i>	<i>Underlying assumptions and related attitude</i>	<i>Definition of the tourism planning problem</i>	<i>Some examples of related methods</i>	<i>Some examples of related models</i>
1	2	3	4	5
Boosterism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tourism is inherently good • tourism should be developed • cultural and natural resources should be exploited • industry as expert • development defined in business/corporate terms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • how many tourists can be attracted and accommodated? • how can obstacles be overcome? • convincing hosts to be good to tourists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • promotion • public relations • advertising • growth targets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • demand forecasting models
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tourism equal to other industries • use tourism for create employment, earn foreign revenue and improve terms of trade, encourage regional development overcome regional economic disparities • planner as expert • development defined in economic terms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • can tourism be used as a growth pole? • maximisation of income and employment multipliers • influencing consumer choice • providing economic values for externalities • providing economic values for conservation purposes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • supply-demand analysis • benefit-cost analysis • product-market matching • development incentives • market segmentation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • management processes • tourism master plans • motivation • economic impact • economic multipliers • hedonistic pricing
Physical/spatial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tourism as a resource user • ecological basis to development • tourism as a spatial and regional phenomenon • environmental conservation • development defined in environmental terms • preservation of genetic diversity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • physical carrying capacity • manipulating travel patterns and visitor flows • visitor management • concentration or dispersal of visitors • perceptions of natural environment • wilderness and national park management • designation of environmentally sensitive areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ecological studies • environmental impact assessment • regional planning • perceptual studies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • spatial patterns and processes • physical impacts • resort morphology • LAC (limits of acceptable change) • ROS (recreational opportunity spectrum) • TOS (tourism opportunity spectrum) • destination life cycles
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • need for local control • search for balanced development • search for alternatives to 'mass' tourism development • planner as facilitator rather than expert • development defined in socio-cultural terms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • how to foster community control? • understanding community attitudes towards tourism • understanding the impacts of tourism on a community • social impact 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • community development • awareness and education • attitudinal surveys • social impact assessment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ecological view of community • social/perceptual carrying capacity • attitudinal change • social multiplier

(contd)

1	2	3	4	5
Sustainable	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • integration of economic environmental and socio-cultural values • tourism planning integrated with other planning processes • holistic planning • preservation of essential ecological processes • protection of human heritage and biodiversity • inter and intra-generational equity • achievement of a better balance of fairness and opportunity between nations • planning and policy as argument • planning as process • planning and implementation as two sides of the same coin • recognition of political dimension of tourism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • understanding the tourism system • setting goals, objectives and priorities • achieving policy and administrative co-ordination and private sectors • co-operative and integrated control systems • understanding the political dimensions of tourism • planning for tourism that meets local needs and thrives successfully in a competitive marketplace 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • strategic planning to supersede conventional approaches • raising producer awareness • raising consumer awareness • raising consumer awareness • stakeholder input • policy analysis • evaluative research • political economy • aspirations analysis • stakeholder audit • environmental analysis and audit • interpretation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • systems models • integrated models focused on places and links and relationships between such places • resources as culturally constituted • environmental perception • business ecology • learning organisations

Sources: After Getz (1987); Hall *et al.* (1997); Hall (1999)

- 1 the public generally has difficulty in comprehending complex and technical planning issues;
- 2 the public is not always aware of or understands the decision-making process;
- 3 the difficulty in attaining and maintaining representativeness in the decision-making process;
- 4 the apathy of citizens;
- 5 the increased costs in terms of staff and money;
- 6 the prolonging of the decision-making process;
- 7 adverse effects on the efficiency of decision-making.

One notable exception here is the research reported by Page and Lawton (1997) which sought to incorporate residents' views as part of the planning process for tourism in a local area.

As the above discussion indicates, one of the major difficulties in implementing a community approach to tourism planning is the political nature of the planning process. Community planning implies a high degree of public participation in the planning process. However, public participation implies that the local community will have a degree of

control over the planning and decision-making process. Therefore, a community approach to tourism planning implies that there will be a need for partnership in, or community control of, the tourism development process.

Yet power is not evenly distributed within a community, and some groups and individuals will therefore have the ability to exert greater influence over the planning process than others (Hall and Jenkins 1995). Therefore, in some circumstances, the level of public involvement in tourism planning may be more accurately described as a form of tokenism in which decisions or the direction of decisions have already been prescribed by government. Communities rarely have the opportunity to say 'no' (Hall 1995). Nevertheless, as Murphy (1985: 153) argued: 'If tourism is to become the successful and self-perpetuating industry many have advocated, it need to be planned and managed as a renewable resource industry, based on local capacities and community decision making', with an increased emphasis being given to the interrelated and evolutionary nature of tourist development.

More recently, geographers have become concerned with the development of sustainable approaches towards tourism (Hall and Lew 1998). Sustainable tourism planning is therefore an integrative form of tourism planning, which bears much similarity to the many traditionally applied concerns of the geographer as resource manager (Mitchell 1979). Sustainable tourism planning seeks to provide lasting and secure livelihoods with minimal resource depletion, environmental degradation, cultural disruption and social instability. The approach, therefore, tends to integrate features of the economic, physical/spatial and community traditions.

The concern for equity, in terms of both intra and intergenerational equity, in sustainable development means that not only should we be concerned with the maintenance of environmental capital' (Jacobs 1991) but also the maintenance and enhancement of social capital (Healey 1997), in terms of the rich set of social networks and relationships that exist in places, through appropriate policies and programmes of social equality and political participation (Blowers 1997). Such an approach has considerable implications for the structure of tourism planning and policy-making. To fulfil the sustainable goal of equity, decision-making processes will need to be more inclusive of the full range of values, opinions and interests that surround tourism developments and tourism's overall contribution to development, and provide a clearer space for public argument and debate (Smyth 1994). As Evans (1997: 8) argued, 'if environmental planning for sustainability...is to be anywhere near effective, the political processes of public debate and controversy, both formal and informal, will need to play a much more significant role than has hitherto been the case.'

Dutton and Hall (1989) identified five key elements of sustainable tourism planning: co-operative and integrated control systems, development of industry co-ordination mechanisms, raising consumer awareness, raising producer awareness, and strategic planning to supersede conventional approaches.

Co-Operative and Integrated Control Systems

In a typical planning process, stakeholders are consulted minimally, near the end

of the process, and often *via* formal public meetings. 'The plan that results under these conditions tends to be a prescriptive statement by the professionals rather than an agreement among the various parties'; by contrast, an interactive style 'assumes that better decisions result from open, participative processes' (Land (1988) in Wight 1998: 87). An integrative planning approach to tourism planning and management at all levels (from the regional plan to individuals resort projects) would assist in the distribution of the benefits and costs of tourism development more equitably, while focusing on improved relationships and understanding between stakeholders may also assist in agreement on planning directions and goals. However, co-operation alone will not foster commitment to sustainable development without the incentive of increased mutual benefits.

One of the most important aspects of co-operative and integrated control systems is the selection of indicators of sustainability. The role of an indicator is to make complex systems understandable. An effective indicator or set of indicators helps a destination, community or organisation determine where it is, where it is going and how far it is from chosen goals. Sustainability indicators provide a measure of the long-term viability of a destination or community based on the degree to which its economic, environmental and social systems are efficient and integrated (Gill and Williams 1994; Hall 1999). However, indicators are useful only in the context of appropriately framed questions (Hall and McArthur 1998). In choosing indicators, one must have a clear understanding of planning goals and objectives. For example, a typology of indicators might include:

- economic, environmental and social indicators (measuring changes in the state of the economy, environment and society);
- sustainability indicators (measuring distance between that change and a sustainable state of the environment);
- sustainable development indicators (measuring progress to the broader goal of sustainable development in a national context).

There has been a tendency to pick indicators that are easiest to measure and reflect most visible change; therefore, important concerns from a holistic perspective of tourism development, such as the social and cultural impacts of tourism, may be dropped. In addition, appropriate indicators may not be selected because organisations might not want to be held accountable for the results of evaluations (Hall and McArthur 1998). According to Wight (1998), indicators to reflect desired conditions and use should ideally:

- be directly observable;
- be relatively easy to measure;
- reflect understanding that some change is normal, particularly in ecological systems and be sensitive to changing use conditions;
- reflect appropriate scales (spatial and temporal);
- have ecological, not just institutional or administrative boundaries;
- encompass relevant structural, functional and compositional attributes of the ecosystem;

- include social, cultural, economic and ecological components;
- reflect understanding of indicator function/type (e.g. baseline/reference, stress, impact, management, system diagnostic);
- relate to the vision, goals and objectives for the destination region;
- be amenable to management.

Insight: The changing role of government and sustainability

Changes in government's role as interest protector has major implications for tourism and sustainability. As Blower (1997: 36) noted in the case of the United Kingdom, 'the long period of privatisation, deregulation, cuts in public expenditure and attacks on local government have resulted in a "democratic deficit"—a dispersal of power to unelected quangos and business interests—and have led to unsustainable developments', a critique also reflected in the comments of Haughton and Hunter (1994: 272):

The unregulated market approach, being relatively a moral, can allow individuals to be immoral. The ethical dimension is important since the market does not provide a sufficient basis for the resolution of the profound moral issues which face us every day; it can play a part in avoiding distorted decision making by individuals and organization, but alone it cannot reconcile all of the environmental problems facing society.

The above comments highlight the need to see partnership and collaboration between government and the private sector within the context of the public interest as opposed to the market interest. Incorporation of a wider range of inputs into the policy process would lead to the formation of issue networks as opposed to sub-governments. Issue networks are structures of interaction among participants in a policy area that are marked by their transience and the absence of established centres of control (Heclo 1978). According to Heclo (1978: 102), the term 'issue network' describes a configuration of individuals concerned about a particular aspect of an issue and the term policy community is used more broadly to encompass the collection of issue networks within a jurisdiction. Both describe the voluntary and fluid configuration of people with varying degrees of commitment to a particular cause.

One of the great problems in examining the role of interest groups in the tourism policy-making process is deciding what the appropriate relationships between an interest group and government should be (Hall and Jenkins 1995). At what point does tourism industry membership of government advisory committees or of a national, regional or local tourism agency represent a 'closing up' of the policy process to other interest groups rather than an exercise in consultation, co-ordination, partnership or collaboration? As Deutsch (1970: 56) recognised.

this co-operation between groups and bureaucrats can sometimes be a good thing. But it may sometimes be a very bad thing. These groups, used to each other's needs, may become increasingly preoccupied with each other, insensitive to the

needs of outside, and impervious to new recruitment and to new ideas. Or the members of the various interest group elites may identify more and more with each other and less and less with the interests of the groups they represent.

The relationship between the tourism industry and government tourism agencies clearly raises questions about the extent to which established policy processes lead to outcomes which are in the 'public interest' and which contribute to sustainability rather than meeting just narrow sectoral interests. Mucciaroni (1991: 474) noted that 'client politics is typical of policies with diffuse costs and concentrated benefits. An identifiable group benefits from a policy, but the costs are paid by everybody or at least a large part of society'. As Hall and Jenkins (1995) argued, tourism policy is one such area, particularly in terms of the costs of tourism promotion and marketing. However, the implications of this situation also affect the overall sustainability of tourism and of communities. In reviewing the tourism and collaboration literature, Hall (1999) concluded that the present focus by government tourism agencies on partnership and collaboration is laudable. 'But the linguistic niceties of partnership and collaboration need to be challenged by focusing on who is involved in tourism planning and policy processes and who is left out...Unless there are attempts to provide equity of access to all stakeholders then collaboration will be one more approach consigned to the lexicon of tourism planning clichés. Therefore, the policy arguments surrounding networks and collaboration need to be examined within broader ideas of the appropriate role of government and changing relationships and expectations between government and communities.

Development of Industry Co-ordination Mechanisms

While a range of formal and informal tourism industry bodies exist in almost every country in the world, few of these address such complex issues as sustainable development. The support by industry groups of environmental codes is perhaps indicative of possible directions if common needs can be agreed, upon. However, for such guidelines to be effective, it must be ensured that they do not constitute a 'lowest common denominator' approach to development and implementation (Hall 1995). Therefore, government and public interest groups tend to use their influence to encourage greater industry co-ordination on planning issues by creating structures and processes which enable stakeholders to talk to each other and create effective relationships and partnerships. In many ways such measures are easier to achieve at a local level because the range of stakeholders which need to be incorporated into co-ordinating bodies will be narrower. In addition, contact at the local level provides a greater capacity for face-to-face contact to occur and therefore trust-building to develop (Hall 2000a).

Co-ordination refers to formal institutionalised relationships among existing networks of organisations, interests and/or individuals, while co-operation is 'characterized by informal trade-offs and by attempts to establish reciprocity in the absence of rules' (Mulford and Rogers 1982:13). Often, the problem of developing co-ordinated approaches towards tourism planning and policy problems, such as the meta-problem of sustainability, is identified in organisational terms (e.g. the new responsibilities to existing ones). However, such a response does not by itself solve the problem of bringing various stakeholders and

interests together which is an issue of establishing collaborative processes. Instead, by recognising the level of interdependence that exists within the tourism system (Hall 2000a), it may be possible for 'separate, partisan interests to discover a common or public interest' (Friedmann 1973: 350). For examples, moves towards the implementation of an 'ecosystem management' approach among United States Government natural resource management agencies has opened up new ways of thinking about heritage and natural area management (Hall and McArthur 1998). Notions of collaboration, co-ordination and partnership are separate, though closely related, ideas within the emerging network paradigm. Networks refer to the development of linkages between actors (organisation and individuals) where linkages become more formalised towards maintaining mutual interests. The nature of such linkages exists on a continuum ranging from 'loose' linkages to coalitions and more lasting structural arrangements and relationships. Mandell (1999) identified a continuum of such collaborative efforts as follows:

- linkages or interactive contacts between two or more actors;
- intermittent co-ordination or mutual adjustment of the policies and procedures of two or more actors to accomplish some objective;
- *ad hoc* or temporary task force activity among actors to accomplish a purpose or purposes;
- permanent and/or regular co-ordination between two or more actors through a formal arrangement (e.g. council or partnerships) to engaged in limited activity to achieve a purpose or purposes;
- a coalition where interdependent and strategic actions are taken, but where purpose are narrow in scope and all actions occur within the participant actors themselves or involve the mutually sequential or simultaneous activity of the participant actors;
- a collective or network structure where there is a broad mission and joint and strategically interdependent action. Such structural arrangements take on broad tasks that reach beyond the simultaneous actions of independently operating actors.

However, as Mandell (1999:8) cautions:

because we as professionals are eager to achieve results, we often look for prescriptions or answers as to how to solve ongoing dilemmas...it is tempting for both academics and practitioners to try to develop a model of success that will fit this complex world. In this regard, the concepts of networks and networks structure can easily become the next in line for those in the field to 'latch onto' and use wholesale. Although it may be tempting to do so, this 'one size fits all' type of modelling does not take into consideration the myriad of factors and events that must be understood before these concept can be of much use in the 'real world.'

Raising Consumer Awareness

One of the hallmark of tourism, and other industries, in recent years has been the increased consumer demand for 'green' or 'environmentally friendly' products; such demand is often related to increased consumer awareness of environmental and social

issues associated with trade and tourism. However, in many cases, the difference between a sustainable and non-sustainable tourism operation may be difficult for consumers to detect, particularly if the greening of tourism is regarded more as a branding device than a fundamental change in produce development.

One development which is usually regarded as an indicator of increased consumer awareness is the development of tourist codes of behaviour in order to minimise the negative impacts of tourists on the social and physical environment (Hall and Lew 1998). For example, Valentine (1992) cites the example of the Audubon Society, one of the largest conservation groups in the United States, which has developed the Audubon Travel Ethic in order to draw attention to the appropriate behaviours and ethics to which individuals travelling with the Society should follow:

- 1 The biota shall not be disturbed.
- 2 Audubon tours to natural areas will be sustainable.
- 3 The sensibilities of other cultures will be respected.
- 4 Waste disposal shall have neither environmental nor aesthetic impacts.
- 5 The experience a tourist gains in travelling with Audubon will enrich his or her appreciation of nature, conservation and the environment.
- 6 The effect of an Audubon tour will be to strengthen the conservation effort and enhance the natural integrity of place visited.
- 7 Traffic in products that threaten wildlife and plant populations shall not occur.

However, while consumer awareness is important and may result in shifts in tourism product, particularly if one believes the old adage that the consumer is king, fundamental changes are also required on the supply side of the tourism equation.

Raising Producer Awareness

According to Hall (1995), greater attention has been given to meeting the demands of different consumer segments than the needs of the supplier of the tourist product. As with the raising of consumer awareness, much attention has been given to the production of environmental codes of conduct or practice for tourism associations (Hall and McArthur 1998). For example, extensive guidelines have been developed for tourism operators in the Antarctic (Hall and Johnston 1995). However, such guidelines, while undoubtedly influencing the actions of some tourism operators, may need to be backed up by government regulation and environmental planning legislation if they are to have any overall effect on development practices. For example, where such codes of conduct are voluntary, what practical measures exist to punish operators who do not subscribe to them?

Insight: The International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators (IAATO)

IAATO (www.iaato.org) was founded in August 1991 by seven charter members (Enzenbacher 1992) and now includes most of the main cruise lines which operate in the Antarctic. In 2001 IAATO had 14 full members, six provisional members, one probational

member, and 14 associate members. IAATO members meet annually in conjunction with the National Science Foundation/Antarctic Tour Operators Meeting; attendance is compulsory as memberships, by-laws and other important issues are discussed. It is estimated that IAATO members carry approximately 70 per cent of all Antarctic tourists (Enzenbacher 1995). As Claus (1990, in Enzenbacher 1995: 188) noted, 'Over the past few years we have been involved in Antarctic policy meetings, US Congressional hearings and scientific conferences, not only in the US but in Australia and New Zealand as well, where we have taken a leading role in the environmental protection of Antarctica'. IAATO has two sets of guidelines: the first is addressed to Antarctica tour operators (1993a), the second is directed at Antarctica visitors (1993b). IAATO tour operator guidelines are intended for crew and staff members of Antarctic tour companies. The agreed principles contained within aim at increasing awareness and establishing a code of behaviour that minimises tourism impacts on the environment. The willingness of industry members to co-operate with Antarctic Treaty Parties in regulating tourism is crucial to the protection of the Antarctic environment given that the Antarctic is transnational space within which domestic laws are complicated in their application (Keage and Dingwall 1993; Hall and Johnson 1995). Tour operators maintain that current IAATO guidelines are adequate, noting that tourists, often serve as effective guardians of the wildlife and environment. Yet, as Enzenbacher (1995: 188) noted, 'it is not clear that self-regulation sufficiently addressed all issues arising from tourist activity as no neutral regulatory authority currently exists to oversee all Antarctic operators'. Infractions of IAATO guidelines by members have been documented, but it is not known to what extent the environment was seriously affected by them (Enzenbacher 1992).

Strategic Planning to Supersede Conventional Approaches

Strategic planning is becoming increasingly important in tourism (e.g. Dowling 1993). Strategic planning aims to be proactive, responsive to community needs, to incorporate implementation within a single planning process, and to be ongoing. A strategy's is a means to achieve a desired end. Strategic planning is the process by which an organisation effectively adapts to its management environment over-time by integrating planning and management in a single process. The strategic plan is the document which is the output of a strategic planning process, it is the template by which progress is measured and which serves to guide future directions, activities, programmes and actions. The outcome of the strategic planning process is the impact the process has on the organisation and its activities. Such impacts are then monitored and evaluated through the selection of appropriate indicators as part of the ongoing revision and readjustment of the organisation to its environment. Strategic planning therefore emphasises the process of continuous improvement as a cornerstone of organisational activity in which strategic planning is linked to management and operational decision-making. According to Hall and McArthur (1998) there are three key mechanisms to achieving strategic planning which differentiate it from conventional planning approaches:

- a planning framework which extends beyond organisational boundaries and focuses on strategic decisions concerning stakeholders and resources;

- a planning process that stimulate entrepreneurial and innovative thinking;
- an organisational values system that reinforces managers and staff commitment to the organisational strategy.

Effective strategic planning for sustainable tourism recognise the importance of factors that affect the broad framework within which strategies are generated, such as institutional arrangements, institutional culture and stakeholders values and attitudes. These factors are significant because it is important to recognise that strategic plans will be in line with the legislative powers and organisational structures of the implementing organisation(s) and the political goals of government. However, it may also be the case that once the strategic planning process is underway, goals and objectives formulated and the process evaluated, the institutional arrangements may be recognised as being inadequate for the successful achievement of sustainable goals and objectives. In addition, it must be recognised that in order to be effective, the strategic planning process needs to be integrated with the development of appropriate organisational values (see Hall and Jenkins (1995) on the role of values in planning and policy). Indeed, with respect to the significance of values to may be noted that the strategic planning process is as important as its output, *i.e.* plan. By having an inclusive planning process by which those responsible for implementing the plan are also those who helped formulate it, the likelihood of 'ownership' of the plan and, hence, effective implementation will be dramatically increased (Health and Wall 1992; Hall and McArthur 1996).

A strategic planning process may be initiated for a number of reasons (Hall and McArthur 1998), including:

- *Stakeholder demands*—Demand for the undertaking of a strategic plan may come from the pressure of stakeholders (*e.g.* environmental conservation groups or government).
- *Perceived need*—The lack of appropriate information by which to make decisions or an appropriate framework with which to implement legislative requirements may give rise to a perception that new management and planning approaches are required.
- *Response to crisis*—The undertaking of strategic planning exercises is often the result of a crisis in the sense that the management and planning system has failed to adapt to aspects of the management environment (*e.g.* failure to conserve the values of an environmentally significant site from visitor pressures).
- *Best practice*—Visitor managers can be proactive with respect to the adoption of new ideas and techniques. Therefore, a strategic planning process can become a way of doing things better.
- *Adaptation, innovation and the diffusion of ideas*—Individuals within an organisation can encourage strategic planning processes as part of the diffusion of ideas within and between responsible management agencies.

Strategic planning is rarely initiated for a single reason. However, it is important to understand as much as possible why a particular planning process is being initiated,

as this helps the participants understand the expectations which have been created. Once underway, strategic planning is designated to be iterative. In other words, planning systems are meant to be able to adapt and change; they learn how to be effective in terms of the most appropriate set of goals, objectives, actions, indicator, institutional arrangements and practices. In this sense, strategic planning from the perspective of sustainable tourism seeks to reflect in an organisational context the principles of appropriate adaptation and change which exist in the ecological relationships they are so often attempting to maintain. In addition, strategic approaches place great store on understanding the policy environment within which tourism planning operates, and it is to this fact we will now briefly turn.

Insight: Singapore: Tourism 21

Why should anybody come to Singapore to begin with? What did we have...We only had a name, then Raffles, Hotel, and what? A few quaint habits and customs and the mediums and the temples, and the Indian with his *kavadi* walking over heated charcoal...that is not going to bring in six million tourists. We developed a marketing strategy...and made ourselves useful to the world.

(Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew, cited in *The Straits Times Weekly Edition*, 16 June 1993, in Teo and Chang 1999; 117)

As tourist taste and markets have changed over-time, 'Singapore has constantly strove to recreate its resources in order to remain competitive' (Teo and Chang 1999: 117). The government's changing focus over-time has been reflected in shifts in tourism policy; from the development of local resources in the 1986 plan to the creation of a 'regional tourism economy' in 1996 (Chang 1998). However, regardless of changes in marketing strategies, the government has consistently sought to emphasise and reinforce Singapore's location as a gateway to South-East Asia and as a transport hub. As Teo and Chang (1999) observed, as an air travel hub, a business centre and a node for tourism/lifestyle companies, the foundation of Singapore's ability to survive in the tourism business is to take advantage of its sophisticated infrastructure to position itself as a gateway.

In 1996 Singapore set itself a target of 10 million arrivals and S \$ 16 billion in tourism receipts at the end of the year 2000 (Hall 1997). In order to achieve these goals Singapore launched a new tourism plan *Tourism 21: Vision of a Tourism Capital* in July 1996 (Singapore Tourism Board 1996). The goal of the plan is to make Singapore the tourism hub of South-East Asia. In order to achieve this, six strategic thrusts were identified:

- 1 *Redefining tourism*: widening the focus of tourism from destination marketing to developing Singapore as a tourism business centre and a tourism hub.
- 2 *Reformulating the product*: developing new themes, events and infrastructure, and linking Singapore products with those of the region.
- 3 *Developing tourism as an industry*: Adopting a cluster development approach, creating investment incentives, and developing a competent tourism workforce, information networks and branding strategies.
- 4 *Configuring new tourism space*: encourage tourism-related investment overseas

by Singaporean companies and develop partnerships with neighbouring countries in product development.

- 5 *Partnering for success*: encourage tourism development partnership at all levels.
- 6 *Championing tourism*: the STPB will take on an enlarged role as a one-stop tourism agency with activities in tourism business development as well as its traditional promotional function.

The Singapore Tourism Promotion Board's name will eventually change to the Singapore Tourism Board to reflect its new role.

Singapore received a total of 7,691,090 visitors in 2000, the highest number of visitors ever recorded. Visitor arrivals from most of the regions, namely Asia, Europe, Oceania and the Americas, also reached historical highs. Given the impact of the Asian economic crisis on tourism in the region this figure was a substantial achievement and testimony to Singapore's tourism planning strategy. Details of the plan are available from the Singapore Tourism Board's website (<http://www.stb.com.sg>).

Tourism Policy

As with planning, geographers have long held a substantial interest in policy-making, although such concerns have only recently found substantial expression in the tourism sphere (e.g. Fagence 1990, 1991; D.G. Pearce 1992a, 1992b; Hall and Jenkins 1995). Public policy is the focal point of government activity. Public policy 'is whatever government choose to do or not to do' (Dye 1992:2). This definition covers government action, inaction, decisions and non-decisions as it implies a deliberate choice between alternatives. For a policy to be regarded as public policy, at the very least it must have been processed, even if only authorised or ratified, by public agencies (Hall *et al.* 1997). Public policy-making, including tourism policy-making, is first and foremost a political activity. Public policy is influenced by the economic, social and cultural characteristics of society, as well as by the formal structures of government and other features of the political system. Policy is therefore a consequence of the political environment, values and ideologies, the distribution of power, institutional frameworks, and of decision-making processes (Hall and Jenkins 1995; Hall *et al.* 1997) (Figure 3.2).

Tourism public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do with respect to tourism (Hall and Jenkins 1995). However, as a number of studies by geographers have indicated (e.g. McKercher 1993c, 1997; Jenkins 1997), pressure groups (e.g. tourism industry associations, conservation groups, community groups), community leaders and significant individuals (e.g. local government councillors), members of the bureaucracy (e.g. employees within tourism commissions or regional development agencies) and others (e.g. academics and consultants) influence and perceive public policies in significant and often markedly different ways.

Research on tourism policy research may generally be divided into two main types of theory: that which adopts prescriptive models and that which adopts descriptive models (Mitchell 1989; Hall 1994; Hall and Jenkins 1995). 'Prescriptive or normative models seek to demonstrate how [planning and] policy-making should occur relative to pre-established

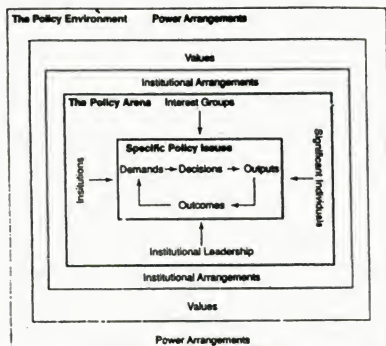


Figure 3.2: Elements in the tourism policy-making process

standards', whereas 'descriptive models document the way in which the policy process actually occurs' (Mitchell 1989: 264). Prescriptive (normative) models serve as a guide to an ideal situation. The majority of references to policy and decision-making in the tourism literature have tended to utilise a prescriptive model of policy-making which demonstrates how tourism policy—and decision-making should occur relative to pre-established standards (e.g. Murphy 1985). The prescriptive—rational approach assumes that a dichotomy exists, between the policy-making process and administration and the existence of 'Economic Man [sic]', whereby individuals can 'identify and rank goals, values and objectives', and 'can choose consistently among them after having collected all the necessary data and systematically evaluated them' (Mitchell 1979: 296). However, while these may be useful rational models against which to compare reality, they do not provide detailed insights into the real world of planning and its associated set of values, power and interests. Instead, approaches, methods and techniques need to be evaluated within the context of the goals, objectives and outcomes of tourism planning and development (Hall and Jenkins 1995; Hall *et al.*, 1997).

Descriptive approaches give rise to explanations about what happened during the decision-making, planning and policy-making processes. Case studies are an important component of descriptive tourism research as they help analysts understand the effects that such factors as choice, power, perception, values and process have on tourism planning and policy-making. As Mitchell (1979: 42) recorded, 'much research in resource analysis has been based upon one-shotcase studies.' The main criticism of the case study method is 'claimed to be its reliance upon historical-descriptive chronology and lack of consistency in scope, context and conceptual cohesiveness' (Davis 1981: 8). However, although a single case study will rarely be sufficient for a full inquiry, the duplication of studies may well suggest fundamental relationships and generalisations (Mitchell 1979: 43). Indeed, 'it

cannot be claimed that the case evidence is entirely definitive or utterly representative' (Davis 1981: 7), but case studies do present the researcher with the capacity to highlight certain problem areas within the scope of the objectives to be gained in this thesis. This attitude is reflected in the recreation research of La Page (cited in Mercer 1973: 42): 'For sound research planning, I would gladly swap all the "highly significant" correlation coefficients of the past 10 years for a couple of good case studies that yielded some solid conceptual insight to build on.'

Under a descriptive approach, emphasis is therefore placed on understanding the various elements of the policy process and how it arrives at certain outputs and outcomes. As W.I. Jenkins (1978: 16) argued, 'for many process is a central, if not the central, focus, to the extent that they argue that a conceptual understanding of the policy'. Therefore, for the descriptive analysis of tourism policy

to explain policy maintenance and policy change, one needs to explore the socio-political conditions in which the political system operates, examining in particular the extent to which outputs are conditioned by external influences. Thus...the vital task of the policy analyst is to explore the links between the environment, the political system and policy outputs and impacts.

(W.I.Jenkins 1978: 26-7)

Unfortunately, the understanding of the tourism policy process is rather limited as the area has not received a great deal of emphasis until recently, although geographers have been making a substantial contribution to the field (e.g. Pearce 1992b; Hall and Jenkins 1995). Nevertheless, an understanding of the way in which government utilises tourism as a policy mechanism may be extremely valuable not only in terms of improving the policy-making and planning process, but also in terms of improving the conditions of the people who are affected by such policies.

For example, tourism as a policy response to the economic problem of rural areas in developed countries has gone through a number of phases in recent years (Jenkins *et al.* 1998). Until the mid 1980s rural tourism was primarily concerned with commercial opportunities, multiplier effects and employment creation (e.g. Canadian Council on Rural Development 1975). In the late 1980s policy guidance shifted to the message that the environment is a key component of the tourism industry. Under this notion, 'tourism is an additive rather than extractive force for rural communities' (Curry 1994: 146). Tourism was regarded as 'sustainable', stressing the intrinsic value of the environment and, in some countries, the rural community as a tourist resource. (Although in Australia sustainability was defined primarily in ecological terms (Hall 1995).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s an additional layer to the policy responses of government to tourism and regional development has been added which returns to the earlier economic concerns (e.g. D.G. Pearce 1992a). This is the perception of rural tourism as a major mechanism for arresting the decline of agricultural employment and therefore as a mechanism for agricultural diversification (Rural Development Commission 1991a, 1991b). In the case of Europe, for example, we see the identification of specific rural development areas (Pearce 1992a; Jenkins *et al.* 1998). For example, as the Australian

Commonwealth Department of Tourism (1993: 24) noted:

Diversification of traditional rural enterprises into tourism would provide considerable benefits to local rural economies including:

- wider employment opportunities;
- diversifying the income base of farmers and rural towns;
- additional justification for the development of infrastructure;
- a broader base for the establishment, maintenance and/or expansion of local services;
- scope for the integration of regional development strategies;
- an enhanced quality of life through extended leisure and cultural opportunities.

Yet despite government enthusiasm for tourism as a mechanism to counter problems arising out of rural restructuring and population, the success of these policies has been only marginally successful, with the greatest growth from tourism and recreation-related industries occurring in the larger rural services centres and the rural-urban fringe, arguably those areas which least need the benefits that tourism can bring (Butler *et al.*, 1998; Jenkins *et al.* 1998). Why has this occurred?

To a great extent it relates to a failure by government to understand the nature of tourism and its relationships with other sectors of the economy and the policy and planning process itself. First, all the dimensions of development need to be considered. Second, it implies the need for us to be aware of the various linkages that exist between the elements of development. Third, it also implies that 'successful' regional development will require co-ordination and, at times, intervention, in order to achieve desired outcomes. Fourth it also means that tourism should not be seen as the be-all and end-all of regional development, but instead should be utilised as an appropriate response to the real needs of rural regions. As Getz (1987: 3-4) stated, tourism 'can be a tool in regional development or an agent of disruption or destruction'. Or, to put it another way, to quote an article from Canada: 'Those who think a bit of Victorian architecture and an overpriced cappuccino bar are going to turn their community into a gold mine are in for a disappointment' (Threndyle 1994). However, the problems of rural tourism and recreation development have long been recognised. For example, as Baum and More (1965: 5) stated with respect to the American experience in the early 1960s:

there are and there will be increasing opportunities for [tourism] development, but this industry should not be considered to be a panacea for the longstanding problems of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment besetting low-income rural areas...The successful development of a particular [tourism] enterprise or complex of enterprises requires the same economic considerations as the planning and development of economic activities in order sectors.

The starting point with respect to determining successful regional tourism development is deciding in the first place what the objectives should be and how a

community is going to get there. Such a decision should not be made by the tourism industry alone. As Long and Nuckolls (1994: 19) noted:

Pro-active, community-driven planning, that goes beyond developing and promoting the static supply side of tourism, is essential for successful development of a sustainable tourism industry. Furthermore, tourism plans must be integrated into broader strategies for community, economic and regional development and management. Communities that for to organise resources and strategically plan for tourism will likely be faced with short-term, haphazard development, resulting in long-term, negative, economic, social and environmental impacts.

An understanding of tourism policy processes, therefore, lies at the heart of broader goals of rural and regional development. Yet, as Hall and Jenkins (1998) argued, the formulation and implementation of rural tourism and recreation public policies present several conundrums. Unrealistic expectation of tourism's potential are unfortunately combined with ignorance or wilful neglect by decision makers of the potentially adverse economic, environmental and social consequences of tourist development that threaten to curtail its benefits. Yet, as Duffield and Long (1981: 409) observed, 'Ironically, the very consequences of lack of development, the unspoilt character of the landscape and distinctive local cultures, becomes positive resources as far as tourism is concerned.' Government involvement in rural tourism development is therefore quite unsuccessful:

Management decisions for the allocation of related outdoor recreation resources are seldom guided by strategic policy frameworks. Decisions are typically made in a reactive manner in response to various pressures from groups competing for the same resource or lobbying for different management of a particular resource...Even in Europe, where rural tourism has been increasingly promoted over the last decade as an important mechanism for regional economic development and European integration, substantial problems have emerged with respect to policy formulation and implementation.

(Hall and Jenkins 1998: 28)

The reason for such failures lies in a lack of a understanding of policy processes: 'while the goals of rural tourism development are fairly clear at the regional level, little research has been conducted on the most appropriate policy mix to achieve such objectives and there is often minimal monitoring and evaluation of policy measures' (Hall and Jenkins 1998). Therefore, for each location within which regional development objectives are being sought through the development of tourism, there are a range of policy measures available (Table 3.5). Five different measures were identified:

- 1 *regulatory instruments*—regulations, permits and licences that have a legal basis and which require monitoring and enforcement;
- 2 *voluntary instruments*—actions or mechanisms that do not require expenditure;
- 3 *expenditure*—direct government expenditure to achieve policy outcomes;
- 4 *financial incentives*—including taxes, subsidies, grants and loans, which are

incentives to undertake certain activities or behaviours and which tend to require minimal enforcement;

- 5 *non-intervention*—where government deliberately avoids intervention in order to achieve its policy objectives.

The selection of the most appropriate measure of, more likely, a range of measures, is dependent on the particular circumstances of each region. There is no universal 'best way'; each region or locale needs to select the appropriate policy mix for its own development requirements. However, this does not mean that the policy and planning process occurs in a vacuum. Rather the attention to policy and planning processes has the intent of making such processes as overt as possible, so that the values, influence and interests of various stakeholders are relatively transparent. There is no perfect planning or policy process yet we can, through the geographer's contribution, help make it more relevant to the people who are affected by tourism development and continually strive for improvement.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a broad overview of the tourism and recreation planning and policy process. It has noted the various strands of tourism planning, and emphasised the particular contribution of geographers to the physical/spatial, community and sustainable approaches to tourism planning.

The reasons for focusing on tourism which is not as well developed or articulated in local, regional and national development plans beyond statements and broad objectives contrasts with recreational planning which has a much longer history of development and application. In fact if the experience of urban areas is considered, one can see the emergence of recreational planning in the nineteenth century in the UK with the role of the public sector in park development, the provision of libraries and other items to meet the wider public good. What geographers have contributed to recreational planning is the synthesis and analysis of good practice, rather than being actively involved as academics, beyond a research role, to assist public and private sector bodies in locational analysis and landuse planning. This chapter has therefore placed a great deal of emphasis on the importance of policy analysis, especially from a descriptive approach. This does not mean that prescription is without value, rather it argues that prescription must be seen in context, with particular reference to those who are in any way affected by policy statements.

In looking at the application of policy analysis to tourism issues we have therefore, almost come full circle. The interests which have long concerned tourism and recreation geographers that are applied and relevant to the needs of the subjects of our research remain, and it is to these issues that we will return in the final chapter.

TABLE 3.5: Rural Tourism Development Policy Instruments

<i>Categories</i>	<i>Instruments</i>	<i>Examples</i>
1	2	3
Regulatory instruments	1 Laws	Planning laws can give considerable power to government to encourage particular types of rural tourism development through, for example, land use zoning.
	2 Licences, permits and standards	Regulatory instruments can be used for a wide variety of purposes at local government level, e.g. they may set materials standards for tourism developments, or they can be used to set architectural standards for heritage streetscapes or properties.
	3 Tradeable permits	Often used in the United States to limit resource use or pollution. However, the instrument requires effective monitoring for it to work.
	4 Quid pro quos	Government may require business to do something in exchange for certain rights, e.g. land may be given to a development below market, rats, or a development is of a particular type or design.
Voluntary instruments	1 Information	Expenditure on educating the local public, business or tourists to achieve specific goals, e.g. appropriate recreational behaviour.
	2 Volunteer associations and non-governmental organisations	Government support of community tourism organisations is very common in tourism. Support may come from direct grants and/or by provision of office facilities. Examples of this type of development include local of regional tourist organisation, heritage conservation groups, mainstreet groups, four guide programme, or helping to establish a local farmstay or homestay association.
	3 Technical assistance	Government can provide technical assistance and information to businesses with regard to planning and development requirements.
Expenditure	1 Expenditure and contracting	This is a common method for government to achieve policy objectives as government can spend money directly on specific activities. This may include the development of infrastructure, such as roads, or it may include mainstreet beautification programs. Contracting can be used as a means of supporting existing local business or encouraging new ones.
	2 Investment or procurement	Investment may be directed into specific business or projects, while procurement can be used to help provide business with a secure customer for their products.
	3 Public enterprise	When the market fails to provide desired outcomes, governments may operate their own businesses, e.g. rural or regional development corporations or enterprise boards. If successful, such businesses may then be sold off to the private sector.
	4 Public-private partnerships	Government may enter into partnership with the private sector in order to develop certain products or regions. These may take the form of a co-operation which has a specific mandate to attract business to a certain region, for example.
	5 Monitoring and evaluations	Government may allocate financial resources to monitor rural economic, environmental and socio economic indicators. Such measures may not only be valuable to government to value the effectiveness and efficiency of rural tourism development objectives but can also be a valuable source of information to the private sector as well

<i>Categories</i>	<i>Instruments</i>	<i>Examples</i>
1	2	3
Financial incentives	6 Promotion	Government may spend money on promoting a region to visitors either with or without financial input from the private sector. Such promotional activities planned expenditure on promotion.
	1 Pricing	Pricing measures may be used to encourage appropriate behaviour or to stimulate demand, e.g. use of particular walking trails, lower camping or permit costs.
	2 Taxes and charges	Governments may use these to encourage appropriate behaviour by both individuals and business, i.e. pollution charges. Taxes and charges may also be used to help fund infrastructure development, e.g. regional airport.
	3 Grants and loans	Seeding money may be provided to business to encourage product development or to encourage the retention of heritage and landscape features.
	4 Subsidies and tax incentives	Although subsidies are often regarded as creating inefficiencies in markets they may also be used to encourage certain types of behaviour with respect to social and environmental externalities, e.g. heritage and landscape conservation, that are not taken into account by conventional economics.
	5 Rebates, rewards and surety bonds	Rebates and rewards are a form of financial incentive to encourage individuals and businesses to act in certain ways. Similarly, surety bonds can be used to ensure that businesses act in agreed ways, if they don't then the government will spend the money for the same purpose.
Non-intervention	6 Vouchers	Vouchers are a mechanism to affect consumer behaviour by providing a discount on a specific product or activity, e.g. to shop in a rural centre.
	1 Non-intervention (deliberate)	Government deciding not to directly intervene in sectoral or regional development is also a policy instrument, in that public policy is what government decides to do and not do. In some cases the situation may be such that government decides to do and not do. In some cases the situation may be such that government may decide that policy objective are being met so that their intervention may not add net value to the rural development process and that resources could be better spent elsewhere.

Source: After Hall and Jenkins (1998: 29-32)

The Future

Speaking only as one individual, I feel strongly that I should not go into research unless it promises results that would advance the aims of the people affected and unless I am prepared to take all practicable steps to help translated the results into action. (White 1972: 102)

As the various chapters in this book have indicated, geographers have made substantial contributions to the understanding of tourism and recreation. However, the geographers who are working in the field are, increasingly, not based in geography departments but instead are located in departments of tourism and recreation or leisure, environmental studies or business. Indeed, the authors, while still regarding themselves as geographers, were working in faculties of business as this manuscript was being completed.

Such a situation is a reflection of several things: the growth of tourism and recreation as a separate, legitimate areas of academic endeavour; the poor standing in which studies of tourism and recreation have generally been held within academic geography, and the applied nature of much work in tourism and recreation geography, which has meant a professional career in the public and private sectors for many geography graduates in the field. Such a situation clearly raises substantial questions about what the future of the subdiscipline will be. As Johnston (1991:2) recognised: 'It is the advancement of knowledge—through the conduct of fundamental research and the publication of its original findings—which identifies an academic disciplines; the nature of its teaching follows from the nature of its research.'

This final chapter will briefly revisit the place of tourism and recreation geography in the applied geography tradition. It will then discuss the contributions that geography can bring to the study of tourism and recreation and highlight a possible future for the field.

Festival Tourism: Recognizing the Challenges; Linking Multiple Pathways between Global Villages of the New Century

Introduction

During the past decade, a new surge in community and international festival tourism has been witnessed in Europe, Africa, Asia, Australia and the Americas. In Australia, 1300 festivals and events were reported over a twelve-month period from November 1995 to 1996. Only 31 of these events operated with a budget over \$ 300,000, the remaining festivals were dependent on volunteer services and local partnerships (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1996). In China the rebirth of festivals and cultural tourism welcomes international visitors to tourist festival-entertainment towns, to international festivals such as 'Pavarotti in the Forbidden City', or to the celebration of traditional events such as the 'Dragon Boat Races.' Festival tourism is being introduced in other areas of Asia as two new international festival theatre complexes, designed to support the increase in community festivals and to attract international events and festivals, have been undertaken in Taiwan and in Singapore (Ng, 1999).

Visitor attraction events, even in countries of Europe that have centuries of festival tourism practice, have tripled, with six out of every ten festivals in France being founded since 1980 (Frey and Busenhardt, 1994). In America and Canada, as in 50 other countries, the indigenous people, in opening their cultural heritage celebrations to visitors, have begun to expand significantly the regional festival calendars and festival tourism options (Tables 5.1 and 5.2; Arnold, 1996-99).

Why the resurgence of festivals? When interviewed, three hundred contemporary festival directions in North America, Great Britain, Australia and several countries within the Asia Pacific Region responded by aligning contemporary festivals with tourism

development; accordingly, they perceived that the increase in festivals corresponded to the ebb and flow of visitor market interests (Table 5.1; Arnold, 1997, 1999, 2000b, c, d). A review with festival directors from 44 original nations in the same countries confirmed this popular perception (Table 5.1; Arnold, 2000b, c, d). The perception may be warranted, for even community festivals, originally orchestrated by volunteers to celebrate community life, are being adapted in many urban centres to attract visitor markets. Issues of stakeholderhood in community and in tourism festivals were companions to the challenges of authenticity, programme quality and economic sustainability.

During the descriptive, ethnographic and applied research processes of the two research teams, questions were raised about the roles, functions, purposes and challenges of festivals within and outside of tourism practice. In this chapter, attention is focused on three of the five major challenges perceived to be confronting festival tourism development at the turn of this century:

1. the effect of ebb and flow patterns on festival tourism development and the introduction of festival tourism models responsive to the inherent challenges;
2. the appearance of new sets of challenges in short-term and long-term planning within changing environments; and
3. the emergence of multiple festival themes, styles and directions.

The remaining two challenges, (4) the appearance of global villages and global theme festivals within regional areas orchestrated by population movements from urban centres and (5) the limited recognition by contemporary policymakers for the transformational power of festival tourism, are recognized in brief as part of continuing research.

The discussion in this chapter is guided both by the summary of findings of the 1995-99 research projects and by the academic training and applied research of the teams, specifically over the past two decades as outlined in Tables 5.1 and 5.3. The author invites readers to reflect on the summary of findings and their implications in festival tourism design, direction and management in the new century.

The Research Process

From 1973 to 1993, as illustrated in Table 5.1, the author undertook descriptive and experimental research in festivals and tourism development in urban centres in the State of California and in urban centres of a number of countries. During this era,

Table 8.1 Schedule of Action Research Projects in Festival Tourism Development, 1979-1991

Year	Researchers	Country	Action Research Projects
1	2	3	4
1979	Arnold	USA	Inner-city Urban Youth Arts Project in San Francisco, Sacramento, Los Angeles, San Jose, California;

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4
			<i>Incarcerated Youth Project</i> in San Jose, California; <i>Tapestry & Talent</i> Multi-cultural Festival, San Jose <i>Garlic Festival</i> Regional Project, Salinas Valley <i>San Jose Opera Project</i> , San Jose
	Arnold/Dalis Arnold		<i>Five Research Tours</i> with artists and cultural anthropologists through the state of California to identify cultural sites and histories of four nations of indigenous people within California, and cultural legacy of 82 cultural heritage immigrants
1980-83	Arnold with State of California Research Team	USA	<i>Cultural Festival Tourism Research Projects</i> for State of California: Historical Research, Design, Development, Testing of Cultural Festival Concepts in preparation for the 1984 Olympics: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Russian Festival of Northern California • Chinese Festival Series in Historic Parks of California: Sacramento Railroad Museum, Angel Island Immigration Station, Fishing Villages of Oakland and San Francisco • Mexican Historic Trails: California Railroads, California Missions • Black American History Trails: Los Angeles, San Diego, Allenstown • Japanese Gardens and History: San Francisco and Oakland • Spanish History Trails: Court Dances of Spain in San Juan Baptista, San Diego Old Town • Four Original Nations of California: Mission Trails in San Diego, San Jose, Sacramento, Northern California • Irish History Trail: California State Railroads • Pioneer Wagon Trails: Tahoe, Sacramento, San Jose, San Diego
1983	Arnold with Getty Museum and Hearst Castle Researchers	USA	<i>Ancient Art of Greece Gallery</i> for the 1984 Olympics-Concept Design, Development, Research and International Collection from the New York City Museum, Hearst Castle Museum, San Francisco Museum, London Museum and the Government of Greece
1983-84	Arnold with California State	USA	<i>Design and Development of Multicultural Park and Centre</i> —Los Angeles <i>Renovation of Cultural Exhibitions</i> in State Museums in the Olympic Park-Los

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4
	Architects, State Parks		Angeles and throughout the State of California (State Parks Department, Arts Council, State Parks Foundation) 1983-84
1983-84	Arnold	Middle East, Malaysia, Hong Kong and India	<i>Research and Arts, Sports Development Tour</i> to research historic sites, arts and sports development programmes (sponsored by State Departments in each country and the USA Sports Academy)
1985-86	Arnold	USA	<i>Action Research Projects in Festivals and Youth, Design and Development of Models for Youth at Risk and Women at Risk in Urban and Regional Communities</i> (United Presbyterian Church, California State Arts Council, California State Society of Parks)
1986-91	Arnold with Feist	USA	<i>Cabrillo Opera Festival Tourism Training Project: Design, development and testing of regional opera festivals with directos and artists from five regions in California</i> (Cabrillo College, San Francisco Opera, Monterey Opera, San Jose Opera, Oakland Opera and Monterey Peninsula Opera)

festivals focused on the interests of multicultural people and their needs to define their traditional and immigrant pathways which had often been lost in the dynamic cultural revolutions of the past two centuries. The multicultural paths traced 82 new immigrant cultures beginning with the restructuring of boundaries of the four original nations of the land that became California as Mexican, Spanish, British, Americans, Irish, African Americans and then Chinese, Japanese and Middle Eastern immigrants established settlements.

From 1993 to 1999, the author revisited the California sites and festivals to record a major change as festival themes celebrated contemporary cosmopolitan life that mixed rather than highlighted the sounds, styles, rhythms and tastes of multiple cultures. Communities in urban centres rarely aligned their festivals with tourism practice. Events focused on community interests, shopping centres, tea-beer nights. Interviews with directors and observations in urban centres in the United Kingdom, Australia, France, and Germany confirmed a similar trend (Arnold, 2000b, c. d; Table 5.2).

Urban festivals for visitors were designed, funded and orchestrated by government or private enterprise. In these events, few attempts other than business seminars were undertaken to establish community/neighbourhood interaction with the tourism market. Exceptions were found in urban communities directly surrounding government events. In these instances, festival governance and economic issues were raised. Multiple small business enterprises anticipated and experienced political and economic benefits (Hall,

1992; Getz, 1986; Johnston and Deakin, 1993; Richards, 1992; and Sofield, 1994). Small businesses also experienced the challenges inherent in the ebb and flow of visitors to major international events such as the Commonwealth Games, the Olympics, the Asia Pacific Games or the Indigenous Games of North America.

Of particular interest uncovered during the interviews with festival directors from Europe, America and Australia, however, was the increased activity of festivals and festival tourism within regional communities. From 1993 through 1997, two research teams, one in regional development and one focusing on indigenous tourism, delved into the regional challenges. Festival directors from 50 countries participated in the Taabinga and Soil of Flame action research tours, seminars, conferences and experimental festival tourism projects undertaken in Queensland and the companion Four Winds Foundation projects in New South Wales (Arnold, 1995; Arnold and Thompson, 1995; Arnold, 1997, 1999b, c). During these projects, the researchers recorded the appearance of a number of festival dichotomies between urban and regional communities and the impact of change within rural communities as visitors introduced new ideas and marketing networks.

In 1997 the author extended the research comparing festival tourism development in three regions in Queensland with regional festivals in the United Kingdom. The continuing study attempted to determine the level of awareness of public policy agencies in the community transformation values of festival tourism and, thereby, the potential for use of festival tourism and, thereby, the potential for use of festival tourism as a tool for new industry development in regional communities. In-depth interviews were undertaken with 100 tourism and development leaders in regional Queensland. The interviews began with policymakers in Commonwealth and state agencies responsible for planning and development in tourism, environment, arts and culture. The interviews continued at the regional level of governance in three different regions. The final set of interviews was undertaken with community leaders of organizations representing community voice within the arts, environmental interests and governance within each of the three regions.

The study was repeated in three different regions within the United Kingdom, in a comparative analysis between regional festival and tourism development values and decision-making structures, processes and personalities (Arnold, 2000c, d). A companion study began to study the evidence of cultural and power transformations within indigenous' communities as observed by cultural teachers and leaders from the original 50 countries of the festival tourism action research (Table 5.2).

The research and action research projects outlined in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 were under the supervision of the author and undertaken in co-operation with regional communities and their councils. The action research was designed to identify and clarify cultural presentation and learning challenges which, due to sensitivity of cultural protocol, had not been defined in the literature.

TABLE 5.2 Schedule of Action Research Projects in Festival Tourism Development, 1995-1999

<i>Year</i>	<i>Researchers</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Action Research Projects</i>
1993	Arnold Feist, R	China	<i>Research Tour in China: Interview Schedule with State Orchestra, Theatres, Conservatorium and Tourism Development Agencies in Beijing, Shanghai, Hong Kong and regional centres in five provinces</i>
1994-95	Arnold	Singapore Thailand Malaysia Taiwan	<i>Pavarotti and World Festival Choir Tour in Australia</i> <i>Research Tour: Interview Schedule with National and Regional Cultural Organizations in</i> <i>Dance, theatre, music, sport and tourism development</i>
1995-96	Arnold	Australia	<i>Taabling Festival—Regional Training Project with mayors, councillors, artists and performers from 20 communities (Councils of South Burnett-Queensland, Sunshine Coast, Fraser Coast)</i>
1996-97	Arnold Iszlaub, A.	Australia	<i>Soil of Flame Festival—Regional Training Project with international artists from 18 indigenous nations of America and arts organizations from Queensland in a 10-day festival tourism training project in regional Queensland</i> <i>Pre-festival research, training and tours projects were undertaken for two years in association with the Nanango Pioneer Festival, the Great Horse Ride, the Woodford-Maleny Festival, the Heritage Days of Maryborough, the Peanut Festival of Kingaroy. Tourism and arts directors from 25 countries participated in the regional research and action training projects.</i>
1996-97	Arnold	Australia	<i>Four Winds Foundation Indigenous Training Project with indigenous artists and leaders from 50 countries.</i>
1999	Arnold Rebert Dunlop OAM	Australia	<i>Mountain Glades Research Foundation Studios</i> <i>Gallery for Arts, Innovations in Timber, Leather, Wool and Glass, Exhibitions, Technology (GLADES: Global Links, Associated Development, Education Services)</i>
1999	Arnold Elsmore, P.	Australia	<i>Interviews with 100 Festival and Tourism Policymakers and Directors in queensland</i> <i>Interviews with 100 tourism policymakers in UK</i>

Challenge I : Reflections on Six EBB and Flow Patterns of Festival Tourism

Analysis of the responses of the festival directors from 50 countries during the experimental projects undertaken in Queensland from 1996 to 1999 (Arnold, 2000b) recognized the important role festivals played at the community level. The responses also confirmed the challenges the directors were confronting, as well as the sociocultural

and economic benefits attained, when these festivals aligned with tourism development. Particular attention was given to the general concern of festival directors perception of 'ebb and flow' patterns in festivals. For example, festival directors focused on the changes in market interests, attributing the ebb and flow patterns to visitor boredom in a plethora of festivals with redundant themes, or a divergence between visitor expectations and quality of visitor experiences. At risk, in directors' perceptions, was the sustainability of the festival tourism endeavours and, thereby, the garnering of an economic return on investments in infrastructure, human resources and community expectations.

The concept of festival ebb and flow interests and patterns, however, is not new. A reflective scan of the history of the arts disciplines, whether visual or performing arts, architecture or theatre, uncovers at least six different ebb and flow patterns (Arnold, 1998). The issues of stakeholdership, authenticity, quality, responsibility and protocol also appeared as a result of these ebb and flow patterns. Contemporary researchers of cultural history who participated in the Soil of Flame Training Festival Project, 1996-97 (Arnold, 1997b, 1999a, b) and the Four Winds Foundation, 1996-97 (Table 5.2; Arnold, 2000b, c, d) traced both touring and community festive activities to the earliest people. The reasons for festival tourism have been continuous through the centuries. For instance, as civilizations formed, communities developed festive activities initially to entertain and communicate with each other (community festival). Over-time villages sought opportunities for social exchange with other villages (marriage celebrations and intercommunity festival) and in some countries, to attract trade caravans and their encourage of explorers and travellers (trade festival). As armies formed to protect the trade caravans, the games festivals were introduced to display through festival competitions the athletic and military skills of the villages and the visitors (McNeill, 1973; Arnold, 1998).

Two ebb and flow patterns and festival styles, recognizably different, were attributed to these early community and tourism festivals. Community festivals, in celebrating the harvests, births, marriages and deaths, and other events or rituals which held meaning for the community followed a pattern of ebb and flow with the harvest and planting seasons. The festival style valued community participation in all aspects of the festival games, cultural events and social activities (Table 5.2).

As families sought to 'captivate' both marriage and trade partners, however, festival performances were designed by the community to display their wealth, skills and attractiveness through body adornment, dancing and singing. The visitors reciprocated and also entertained their hosts with gifts of foods, craft, music and dance, thus beginning a two-way exchange of cultural interests and craft skills. The ebb and flow of the visitor market interests followed a pattern that, over-time, became part of a routine trade calendar. In contemporary times, these patterns continue in the 'Thursday Farmer Markets', the 'Sunday Craft Fairs' and the quarterly, annual or biannual national or international trade conferences of many countries. The style of festival incorporated both participatory and performance activities, thus introducing games, competitions and the qualification or ranking of athletes, performers and their arts.

Twenty-two festival activities evolved around the visual and performing arts, home-making crafts, horticulture, viniculture, sports and martial arts, many of which were developed into art forms and presentation styles to attract or accommodate the interests of various trading and visitor programmes continue in the form of military parades and martial arts displays; athletic games; circus and trade exhibitions; religious pageants and enactments; gipsy, folk or court dances; or camel, boat and horse races (Arnold, 1998). The ebb and flow patterns of the visitor (tourism) festival aligned with the trade exhibition schedules of the towns and villages rather than with the harvest or community celebrations. This ebb and flow pattern was perceived to introduce new challenges as the economic benefits of trade dominated the events and therefore market size and interests became important. Different styles of festivals emerged in response to different interests of the military, court or religious markets.

A third pattern of festival ebb and flow appears in history as artisans, artists, performers and their touring ensembles formed. Community and tourism festivals and exhibitions incorporated the portfolio of the visiting artists' portfolios. The early ebb and flow pattern of gipsy carnivals and nomad circus, originally attached to seasonal weather patterns, changed as tents, cathedral squares and trade exhibition centres provided covered performance areas. The divisivity in performance styles and interests increased and annual or biannual schedules of the touring artists and exhibitions became features of the festival. Over the centuries, the guest performance festivals were organized into five art programme seasons revolving around the dance, opera, symphony, theatre and circus or shows to accommodate market interests and artists' schedules (Arnold, 1998).

It is interesting to note, that with this ebb and flow pattern, multiple styles in music, dance, art and theatre also evolved as artists, while touring, learned from each other and exchanged skills and cultural rituals. Artists, historians and critics, in attempting to define the arts festival and classify activities into original, traditional, cultural, ethnic and classic performance styles, raised the issues of authenticity and quality. As artists developed performance skills and individual interpretive styles, and designers, composers, choreographers, writers and lyricists established themselves, the art of criticism found a new vocabulary to express views on originality, creativity, innovation, adaptation and transformation. The issues continue into contemporary times.

With the emergence of artisans and performing artists, traced in most cultures to the evolution of dynasties (McNeil, 1973), a fourth ebb and flow pattern was introduced. The pattern follows the award of funds, grants or investment by the patron, ruling family or government to underwrite the cost of the 'attraction', whether artists, athletes, circus or military show. This donation, undertaken for sociocultural-political reasons, often supported the celebration of religious holidays or traditional ritual experiences.

In contemporary times, the ebb and flow of patron resources has continued in the form of small grants for community celebrations or more substantial commercial investment for festival tourism development. This ebb and flow pattern introduced a number of challenges as sponsors, often political leaders or aspirants, focused on mass-market interests and inherent economic strength. A dichotomy in investment patterns

appeared between regional and urban centres, with urban centres supporting the infrastructure required for mass-market conventions and performances. In many cases, regional communities that have centuries of experience in patron support now must apply for grant and sponsorship underwriting in competitive bids to continue their harvest festivals and festival tourism endeavours. The application and accounting processes, although still revolving around political party and patron interests, now often follow a complicated two to four year schedule of developing and implementing public policy, application procedures, approval processes and follow-up reporting systems.

It is interesting to note that on some continents, the history of this ebb and flow pattern is erratic. Accordingly, many of the festival directors who participated in the research had a wide range in experience and diverse views regarding portfolio festivals and their ebb and flow patterns. For example, just as there were long periods in the Middle Ages when festivals, dancing and merriment were forbidden in European communities, in more recent history there were long periods of world wars in which festival activities were curtailed by survival needs. In contemporary times, some indigenous nations in Africa, South America and Australia have only experienced community festival activity and therefore this ebb and flow pattern of artists schedules is yet to be realized. In some countries the peace missions introduce artist portfolios in the building of the peace effort, for example as in Eastern Europe with the Suzuki Theatre and John Noad Productions 1999. In other countries, communities attempt to recover without this festival support, as discussed by researchers from countries in South-East Asia and Africa.

The fifth ebb and flow pattern appeared in more recent history to follow the family holiday markets. School holiday and family vacations of European and American markets and scheduled during the June through to August calendar months. In many Asia Pacific countries, however, the heat seasons and slower paced months were registered to be in December through to February. Accordingly, as international travel, holidays and trade conventions increase around the world, two tourism seasons are emerging, with festivals being designed to accommodate market interests of southern hemisphere countries and other festivals prepared to attract the northern hemisphere seasonal holiday markets (Arnold 1998).

The sixth ebb and flow pattern is recognized in the dual lifestyle of patrons, seniors and, more recently, the technology 'rich', who move between urban and regional residences. For instance, the patrons, more readily the wealthy, maintained seasonal residences in both urban and regional centres. The patrons escaped urban life to rest, relax and entertain in regional retreats. As greater numbers of people around the world developed higher standards of living, they also afforded a holiday retreat. Holiday flats in beachfront towns and country villas in regional settings in most countries bear witness to this international trend. Rapid transport, weather responsive technology and year-round work schedules have also encouraged individuals or families to take more frequent but shorter breaks throughout the year. As regional communities experienced the fluctuating demographics of these part-time residents, more community festivals have been designed to undertake the challenge of accommodating the interests of the more frequent, long weekend visitor or other part-time residents. The adjustments are witnessed for example

in the extension of the San Juan Bautista-California theatre and mission festival programme from an annual event to several seasons of festival activity. The expanded festival tourism strategy has increased the social, cultural and economic wealth of the community (Tables 5.1 and 5.2).

Another major part-time resident found in this ebb and flow pattern is the senior market; participants extend their regional visits to avoid poor weather in their own part of the country. In some cases their visit helps them determine whether or not the hosting community also offers the sense of place to which they would retire. Regional festivals are encouraged by many of the retirees who seek the social outlets as well as opportunities to invest in and develop 'hobby tourism' projects (Arnold, 1995a).

A more recent example is witnessed in the high-tech families who, in valuing the flexibility of lifestyle and their global links, re-establish their sense of community in regional centres. Their technology prowess enables them to work from home centres and to commute to clients around the world. As more high-tech residential 'visitors' settle in regional communities, a reversal of the rural to urban migration pattern is witnessed. The flow into regional communities introduces the benefits of new social and economic resources as well as the challenge of increased complexity in lifestyles and entertainment requirements in regional communities.

What are the implications of these six ebb and flow patterns to contemporary festival tourism development? The ebb and flow patterns, specifically the longer-term residential pattern, suggest that many regional communities are either experiencing or anticipating increased complexity in their socio economic evolution. The increase in community festivals in some countries may in fact be a reflection of the need for regional centres to adjust to changing demographics within their communities rather than a desire in communities to establish festival tourism for economic reasons. If this is the case, community festivals will continue to serve as a vital community development function to integrate new residents and their interests into the community while at the same time assisting former residents to adjust within their changing social and cultural landscapes. If the urban to regional settlement trend continues in the new century, festivals designed

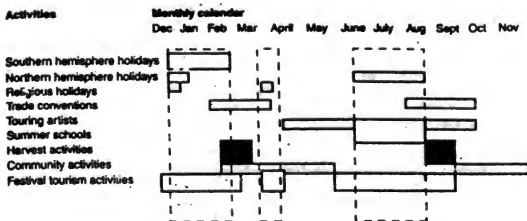


Figure 5.1 Potential festival calendar in rural Queensland

to re-establish a community's sense of place and future may require new resident and patron investment and be undertaken with greater independence from festivals designed to attract, retain and build tourism markets and industries.

The festival directors concluded that, whether focusing on community or visitor interests, festival directors should:

- Recognize and chart the multiple ebb and flow patterns and, in so doing, determine both the impact of these patterns on community evolution and the implication for longer-term festival tourism development in their region.

In charting the actual and potential visitor flow patterns, the communities should be able to establish regional festival calendars and identify windows of opportunity for joint venture efforts in both community and tourism festival endeavours. The joint venture efforts should reduce intercommunity competitive behaviours and focus communities toward attracting, integrating and managing the sponsors and volunteer workforce within a co-operative and sustaining effort of festival tourism development. During the off-season the communities may better enjoy local activities, festival training programmes, product development and other value-adding practices in preparation for the peak visitor season.

Figure 5.1 presents an example of a potential festival calendar for regional Queensland that experiences two planting and harvest seasons. As many as 26 festival activities each year in 3 small communities dissipated the resolve of the volunteer workforce (Arnold, 1998). Restructuring activities into two major festival tourism seasons would focus the efforts of volunteers and establish events on which tour operators could depend.

- Identify the players, structures and decision-making processes required for effective festival regional tourism development and, in so doing, determine which festival tourism development efforts should be intergrated. In under taking this activity, communities should identify areas of conflict between six levels of regional festival tourism management, specifically.
 - management teams for each community's festival activities;
 - agents of the visiting artists;
 - festival tourism operators;
 - managers of the sponsorship funds or grants;
 - directors of the festival schools, exhibitions and competitions; and
 - co-ordinators of the festival tourism calendars and integration of events.
- Determine the design of festival orchestration structures to ensure that the focus, quality and integrity of activities meet the expectations of the visitors, performers, sponsors and community hosts.

For example, the action research in festival tourism development in regional Queensland identified a number of challenges in festival development structures,

processes and personalities. Four festival tourism-training models were designed to assist regional communities in planning with the ebb and flow patterns (Arnold, 1999a, b). The training models helped communities build festival design, planning, marketing, business development and tourism and hospitality skills in preparation for external visitor and new resident markets. Each of the festival structures concentrated on a specific focus. For example:

- **Model I: The Trade Anchor Model**, designed around the ebb and flow of harvest seasons of the rural communities, focuses on the trade fair. Community festival races, parades, games, dances and entertainment are designed to attract and retain regional visitors over the weekend. During the trade festivals, visitors remained for a week to two days of training activities thus increasing the revenues in hotels, restaurants, shopping centres and leisure clubs.
- **Model II: The Portfolio Model** features touring artists of the theatre, ballet, opera and symphony and accordingly accommodates the ebb and flow of government-funded or corporate sponsored touring programmes. The intent of the touring portfolio is to outreach the arts to regional communities. During the training festivals; portfolio performances attracted visitors from several regions. A festival training school, attached to the portfolio model, helped communities build presentation skills, encouraged young artists in the region, extended the festival season and initiated efforts to build future arts markets in the region. Festival training programmes and camps introduced a longer-term source of funds into the communities that hosted the young artists, their parents and grandparents. The portfolio model is illustrated in Figure 5.2.
- **Model III: The Festival Games Model** introduces competitions in 22 festival sport and art forms, confirming and preserving social and cultural patterns of the region as exemplified in the Highland and Scottish Games and the Indigenous Cultural Sports and Dance Competitions of North America. The model enables communities to schedule a series of cultural festivals throughout the year with task forces from each cultural cluster dedicated to the festival training, management and presentation.
- **Model IV: The Pathway Model** incorporates all of the other festival models to host international festival artists, festival training programmes, export seminars, business development conferences, industry tours, community fairs and regional trade shows with the benefits garnered by participating communities as visitors take multiple pathways into the major festival. This model requires interregion co-operation and planning around all ebb and flow patterns, and accordingly takes five years of development to achieve a level of success (Arnold, 2000b). The pathway model, as structured during the action research in regional Queensland, is found in Figure 5.3.

Challenge II: Reflections on Long-term Planning within a Changing Environment

Closely aligned to the concerns raised by the research team about the ebb and flow patterns of festivals were the issues surrounding long-term planning. On reflection

on the research experience and findings, the multiple issues clustered around three common areas of challenge, specifically.

- dichotomies affecting long-term development of festival practice;
- change within the macro environment; and
- micro level problems in establishing decision-making structures and processes responsive to the multiple players and personalities involved in festivals and tourism development.

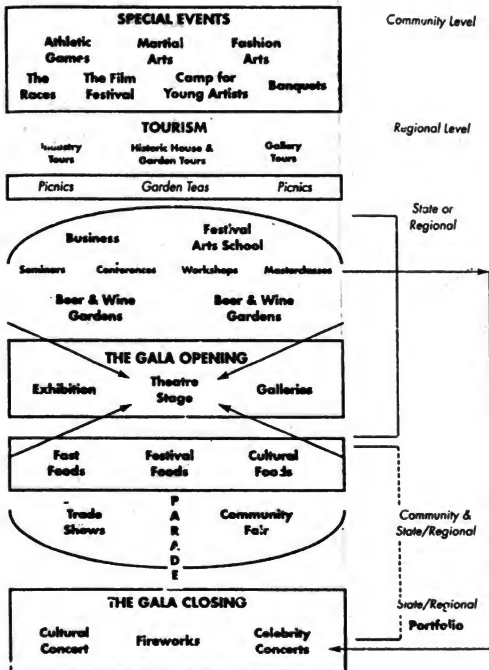


Figure 5.2 Model II: Portfolio festival model

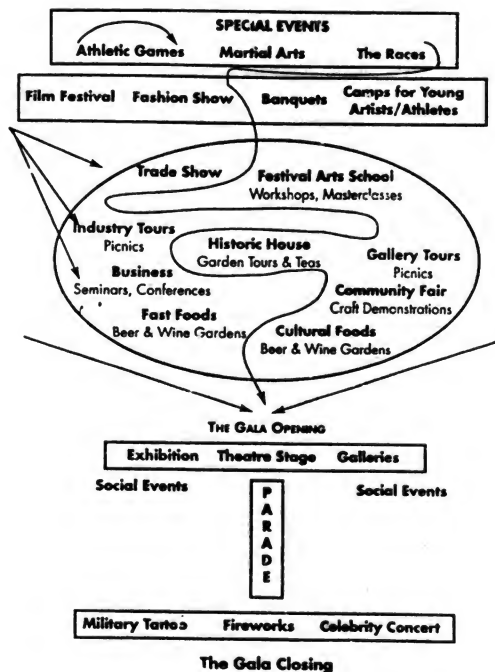


Figure 5.3 Model IV: The Pathway Festival Model

The Dichotomies

Analysis both of the findings from interviews of festival directors from 50 countries and the results of the action research projects confirmed that, although not all festival directors confronted all of the same challenges, five dichotomies appeared to be affecting contemporary festival projects. For example, festival directors from countries in Asia

Pacific, Africa, Eastern Europe and Australia perceived a move by governments to take over major urban community festivals, placing them under professional management with the mandate to attract international visitors. As grants and sponsorships focused on building selected festivals, many of the other urban community-based efforts disappeared, for people were leaving their neighbourhood activities to attend the bigger events 'downtown.'

One challenge led to another as, in several instances, government restrictions and in some cases censorship, investment and leadership were perceived to confine the exploratory nature of festival artists and activities. The festival directors were witnessing a reduction in the expressions of originality as sponsored festivals were orchestrated repeatedly to meet politically correct presentations designed for a mass visitor market. As events became commercialized, the festival activities became repetitive.

On the other hand, festival directors active in regional communities registered a lack of government interest and funding, in comparison to urban centres, for regional festival tourism development. The issues raised by the regional festival directors focused on an increasing social, cultural and economic complexity as leaders in many communities, in an attempt to attract funding, visitors and the economic benefits of tourism, copied urban festival tourism development patterns. Accordingly, indigenous and other regional communities began to commercialize their cultural and social legacy to compete for the urban and international visitor market. Communities advertised their artefacts and cultural images within time capsules of the past, promoting their history rather than their technologies and innovations over-time or their potential for industry development in the future. The markets that were being attracted were often local seniors seeking to recall memories and socialize in the process. International visitor markets, however, without a link to the social history of regional communities, rarely ventured in large numbers beyond a two-hour coach ride from urban centres or seafront towns.

In regional communities attractive to investors, government agencies had deployed external festival tourism developers to orchestrate the festival tourism events. During this regional festival tourism developmental process, the dissolution both of the community sense of ownership of festivals and the volunteer workforce was witnessed in many countries. Issues of cultural protocol, authenticity, ownership, leadership responsibility and funding dominated the responses of directors from both indigenous communities and regional arts or historic societies. In some cases, efforts were undertaken either to access the economic benefits or to regain control of their heritage as local cultural and social organizers began competing for the limited number of government grants and private sector donations. The competitions fuelled intercommunity rivalry within most regions and in some cases communities boycotted the professional, portfolio festival tourism endeavours as exemplified in the Soil of Flame Festival experiments of 1997 (Arnold, 1998, 1999a, b).

The second dichotomy, rising between the state-funded, professionally managed festivals and the experimental projects of young artist festivals and ethnic festivals, was noted in a number of countries. Sponsors and government agencies viewed young artists

as niche market activity and experimental projects as being 'on the fringe' of market interest. Festival directors registered concern that youth and ethnic artists were not receiving adequate opportunities to express their cultures or to build artistic and presentation skills. In recognizing the importance of participatory expressions, directors were seeking to establish festival schools, workshops, extemporaneous performance opportunities, experimental development spaces and audience participation options attached to festivals as we exemplified in the Soil of Flame projects undertaken from 1995 to 1997 (Arnold, 1999a, b).

The third dichotomy appeared between those who can or cannot access technology. For instance, the effects of advancements in transportation technologies are witnessed in the increased ability of some countries not only to mobilize military forces but also to transform the technology for transporting mass markets. Accordingly the evolutionary pace of history that intermittently mingled cultures at the rate of caravan-styled trade, war and tourism, changed pace with the inventions that enabled the world to engage in transcontinental wars. Following two world wars and decades of multinational military activities, many more countries now house multinational immigrants. Cultural festivals, initiated originally to celebrate centuries of heritage and lineage, now celebrate, in many countries, multicultural and transnational themes. A cultural dichotomy is appearing between visitors in search of lost heritage and cultural traditions, and those communities who, having integrated their diverse cultural base to such an extent, now enjoy cosmopolitan and new age festival experiences. The dichotomy is witnessed as international visitors look without success for traditional cultural expressions in cosmopolitan festivals that rarely reflect on past culture but enjoy the blending of tastes, sights, sounds and dance rhythms and styles. Cosmopolitan age festivals are exemplified in the Brisbane River Festival, the New Age Jazz Festival of Monterey and the Contemporary Music Festival of Santa Cruz, California.

The festival directors interviewed expected to continue celebrating a diversity of culture in some countries. However, most events organizers recognized a contemporary severance from the slow pace of cultural evolution and the appearance of a dichotomy between the technology-rich and the technology-neglected artists and their markets. The technology dichotomy aligned at times with the economic dichotomy defining the markets by those who could or could not afford global travel and communication options.

Analysis of the history of civilizations chronicles the uneven advances in technology in some countries. Early examples included the introduction of irrigation, animals for transport, printing press for communication, artificial substances for construction, medical instruments and procedures and many others (McNeil, 1973). Modern history's intermingling of advancements in two technologies, transportation and communication, has had profound effects on festivals and tourism development. For example, television has enabled audiences both to view the intimacy of community celebrations of original cultures and to participate vicariously in the opera, dance and symphonic festivals of Europe, Asia and the Americas. Festivals designed for television markets have increased over the past four decades to introduce cyberspace festivals linking closed circuit or mass-market cabled television channels and computers.

Through commercialization of communication and transportation technology, mass markets now enjoy both the tourism and arts experiences previously reserved for the economically advantaged social classes. Accordingly, the television audience of the past four decades is able, through rapid transport, to seek out the experiences they viewed originally through satellite systems. In addition to attending the festival programmes, designed specifically for visitor markets in urban centres, international visitors may experience in person the traditional cultural experiences and the intimacy of community celebrations they witnessed on television.

In some countries these dichotomies persist, polarizing (1) urban and regional communities; (2) young artists from professional artists; and (3) those who can or cannot access technology. The result witnesses the urban community internationalizing through their conventions, festivals and enterprises as festival services advance to meet the requirements and global interests of their guest markets. On the other hand, many regional communities, previously isolated by access and singular cultural settlements, remain stoic in attempts to save their evaporating sense of community.

Changes in the macroenvironment

Although the festival directors' concerns focused on micro-management challenges, the cause of the concern could be traced to changes within the macroenvironments, specifically in the uneven geographic and demographic distribution of government or ruling family support. The macroenvironments are recognized in marketing literature (Kotler, 1999) and are designated as:

- natural (vista, climate, geography);
- economic (economic infrastructure, human resource, natural resources);
- technology (ability to develop ideas, production systems and products);
- political/legal (processes for decision-making and governance);
- demographics (the breakdown of lifestyles and habitats of people within a region);
- social and cultural (education, religious, heritage patterns and psycho-graphics of a community) (Kotler, 1999).

Prior to planning for festivals, environmental scans should be undertaken to determine existing and potential macro level evolution that may initiate change and either influence government, business and market decision-making processes or support the continuation of festival development dichotomies.

Australia offers an example of interaction between the political and economic environments at the macro level and the effect of that interaction on the socio-cultural environment of communities across Australia. Although statistical records of festivals may be viewed as estimates rather than actual attendance, the national festival profile over a twelve-month period starting November 1995 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 21 Sept. 1999) recorded 1300 festivals. The dichotomies appear as the main arts festivals (urban) were awarded \$ 11.5 million in funding and received \$ 16.6 million in receipts and \$ 10.7 million in sponsorships. These festivals attracted 58.7 per cent attendance with

an additional 15.4 per cent of the market visiting popular music festivals and another 13.2 per cent attending exhibitions and film festivals. Regional festivals, on the other hand, here awarded \$ 1.8 million and attracted 12.7-15 per cent of the market. Ticket receipts and sponsorship in these regional festivals was not even registered.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics did not record the capital investment in performing arts centres, museums, libraries, sports centres, arts centres and other festival, sport or arts venues in urban centres. Nor does the research record whether or not the urban festivals run at a profit or loss; and consequently, whether or not the government is required to continue investing in the urban festival tourism infrastructure and programmes. Operating budgets for Queensland festivals and arts and sports events, for example, registered considerable loss and called for financial rescue packages for orchestra, ballet, opera, film, sports and theatre festival activities as noted in the Board of Director's Reports for Warana Festival, Queensland Philharmonic Orchestra, Winter Carnival Races and Indy Motor Races, 1995-98.

Expenditures in urban centres may be rationalized on demographic realities of urban centres and the social needs of the urban mass markets. Accordingly, the benefits of the festival tourism investment were perceived by sponsors and government agencies to reach greater numbers of small businesses who are either contracted for festival service or experience increased revenues from visitor traffic. An opposing view, registered predominantly by regional festival directors, questioned this past practice. The point of their argument did not call for a reduction in investment in urban festival tourism. Instead, regional festival directors called for a discussion of whether or not the urban investment should continue to the exclusion of investment in festival tourism development in regional communities also seeking the economic and social benefits associated with visitors (Arnold, 1995a, 1997a, b, 1999a, b).

The issues of the debate are not new and remain complex as noted in tourism and leisure development conferences of the past three decades (Arnold: UN-INTERCALL Conference and Task Force Research/Training Programs 1974 (Sapora, 1978; Arnold. 1980). These reports reviewed during research undertaken by the author (Arnold, 2000b Tables 5.1 and 5.2), and research undertaken by the Four Winds Foundation (Arnold. 1997-9), shed light on the real challenge. Specifically, over four decades, rural and regional communities have experienced not only the accumulated loss of economic opportunity, but also the opportunities afforded through sociocultural and political exposure to new ideas, technologies and the building of joint venture enterprises to support new industries and export practices. The ensuing dilemma of the dichotomies appears to be revolving now around three broad challenges:

- the encroaching economic dissolution of communities unable either to attract or to develop new industries, specially those aligned with changing technologies responsive to the directions of international or global enterprises;
- the capabilities of rural communities to change their mindsets either to welcome the international market or to complete within a global economy; and
- the poor management of tourism development in many regional areas, and the

outcome on regional economies and community practice in preserving sites of ritual, historical or ecological significance.

The issues of sustainability and progressability were raised in the discussions on each challenge. Economic *sustainability* issues appeared to revolve around the ebb and flow pattern of tourist market interests. The companion challenge of *progressability*, however, related to the community's capabilities and motivation to change to meet market interests.

The ethnographic and action research projects undertaken in regional Queensland recorded the appearance of change within each of the macroenvironments and the profound effect of that change on festival tourism development (Arnold, 1995-99). For example, many regional communities had experienced directly or indirectly the effects of long-term drought. As rural communities lost crops, cattle and associated industries, their towns and other economic and social support infrastructure dissipated. Government restructuring changed many of the service boundaries, introducing layers of decision-making processes at the Commonwealth, state, regional and community levels. Each layer of governance retained different boundaries so festival directors had to seek support and approvals for health, transportation, communication, education, emergency services and arts funding from multiple councils and government agencies spread across eleven regions. Communication technologies had not been updated, thus distance and obsolete technology increased the sense of isolation of rural families and communities. In these settings, efforts to develop festival tourism were stressed, as visitor markets became acutely aware of the compounding economic, natural, political and technology challenges and their effect on the changing demographics and socialcultural landscapes of the communities.

In delving into these challenges, two research teams, one in regional development and one focusing on indigenous tourism, undertook action research in rural communities from 1995 to 1997 in regional Queensland and regional New South Wales. Festival directors from 50 countries participated in the action research tours, seminars, conferences and experimental festival tourism projects. The research teams recorded the impact of change within communities as visiting artists and tourism development specialists introduced new ideas and marketing networks during ten-day training festivals.

Micro level challenges

The research process confirmed that all of the macro level challenges could be identified and addressed through research and strategic planning (Arnold, 1997a, b). The greater challenge during the festival tourism trials, however, was found at the microcosm level as several people thwarted community efforts to build festivals designed to attract visitors to their community. The disruptive personalities, in each of the 23 communities involved in the festival tourism projects, were found to be new residents who perceived the festival tourism enterprise would compete with their own efforts to establish business or hinder their progress in becoming political leaders in the community. In attempting to influence political decision-making structures such as regional councils, the new residents insisted on introducing new health, security, traffic control and signage policies and fees on all festival tourism endeavours (Arnold, 1998).

In some instances, the efforts to control or discontinue festival tourism did have effect as community volunteer groups were confronted with newly imposed fee structures on what had previously been free public service. Elaborate festival tourism decision-making processes were also imposed, replacing the community club planning system. For example, a year of multiple public hearings and council approvals was required for each festival tourism activity. When members of the community did not comply, whether wittingly or unwittingly, the local media were advised and thus community volunteers and their festival tourism efforts were afforded unexpected, investigative reporting from the media. Festival administrators and community leaders supporting the new industry received frequent calls to report to councils to explain their actions and activities.

Over a five year period of these unorganized efforts and at times disruptive behaviours, however, the regional festival tourism efforts began to transform community opinion. Festival cottage industries developed new products for export, refurbished historic homes and designed nature, industry and historic trails. Tour buses were witnessed as gallery and vineyard tours were introduced. The rate of adoption of festival and tourism practice within the communities built momentum, spreading to most communities within each of the twelve regions participating in the action research projects (Arnold, 2000b).

Similar challenges were met in the indigenous communities (Arnold, 2000b, c, d). In these instances, the micro level challenges were also witnessed in decision-making structures, processes and personalities as various indigenous councils co-operated in their efforts to establish festival tourism. Establishing the protocols required consensus-building exercises. During these prolonged discussion periods, many of the planning activities lost their momentum. As the festival training activities began, however, the international artists were able to provide examples and models from which the indigenous communities could evolve joint venture festival experiences. The extemporaneous flow of the festivals enabled the participating communities to exchange, experiment and progress their ideas. As noted earlier in this chapter, the festival youth initiated and continued the festival learning experiences by studying their own and others' cultural dances and by organizing performing tours to several countries.

Implications from the action research suggest that festival tourism planning should take into account the effect the macro and microenvironments on the festival tourism endeavours, and the effect that both the festival experiences and the visitors will have on hosting communities in the long-term. In recording the changes in the communities over a five year period, the research team recommended that regional festival tourism directors should:

- anticipate and plan both for shorter-term responses of the hosting communities, specifically for reactions that may develop longer-term challenges or opportunities between the hosting and visiting people of the festival experience;
- realize that festival dichotomies have evolved over many years of political and economic structuring of festivals and tourism practice without, in many instances, consideration by governments for the longer-term effects on the mindsets of people;
- recognize that the orchestration of tourism festivals within many regional

communities may initiate a series of dynamic reactions within the community;

- recognize planning processes that continue the dichotomies, specifically those festival development processes that neglect to undertake either analysis of macroenvironmental challenges or projections of the evolutionary and induced changes. For example, in the past, the investing of government funds induced change within the economic environment of a community and created a catalyst for change in the political and social-cultural environments of that community. In some instances, the projected economic benefits were destroyed as the social and cultural values of the community were changed from volunteer practice into a pattern of charging fees for public or voluntary services;
- monitor the changes in attitudes and sociocultural patterns in the community as these patterns can foreshadow whether or not the community intends to restrict, sustain or progress the new industries introduced through festival tourism.

Challenge III: Festival Themes

A third area of interest appearing in the interviews and action projects encompassed five festival themes which returned during the two decades: Space Age, Traditional Ritual, Heritage, Innovation and Invention and Community Sense of Place.

The Space Age festival theme is not surprising. Four generations around the world have witnessed the launch of manned rockets and the beginning of space exploration. These images have become part of the popular culture that celebrates through film and 'energy art' festivals the science fiction literature of the past century. For example, the television comedies of the 1960s introduced space *martians* into television families. *Dr Who* and the *Star Trek* television series and the *Star Wars* movies picked up the momentum, encouraging youth to emulate popular images of youth in space suit festivals; their parents participated by bridging the gap between the future and the past in *New Age Happenings* in the 1980s.

The popular festival celebration at the close of the twentieth century witnessed both youth and seniors, whose world transverse experiences enabled them to write the preface of new century manuscripts and the technology enhanced musical scores. Space Age themes appearing in film, music, art, dance and fashion paid tribute not only to the creators of new images, sounds and styles, but also to the audience preparing to explore new limits in space and energy technology. The Space Age festivals at the close of this century, moving away from subject and theme materials, are electronic competitive rather than culture specific. As films and video games follow suits, some of the indigenous and heritage festivals directors called for the recognition of multiple pathways forging into an internationalizing voyage and a globally conscious celebration of a new century. Other directors of indigenous, settlement heritage and classical festivals expressed concern with the festival focus on technology. In the kaleidoscope of vibrant colours and sounds, entertainers are dwarfed and silhouettes of the bemused are glimpsed as they search for fragments of original and settlement cultures.

A second festival theme was dedicated to original people. The traditional

celebrations and tours appeared as part of the spiritual, social and education practice of the original people on all continents. The festival directors in the research projects aligned modern indigenous festivals with the routines of the earliest human inhabitants that celebrated the hunt and shared, through enactments, their sense of community. Beyond the dances and songs, early communities participated in rituals, reinforcing their responsibility of stewardship of landscapes that held special meaning for them. Tours across the land to these landscapes and the celebrations and experiences of ritual continued through the centuries. Over the centuries, many of the original nations have merged, losing their lifestyles and language and, accordingly, many of the ancient rituals have also lost meaning over-time.

At the turn of the century; indigenous festival tourism directors are welcoming efforts towards the recovery of original languages, rituals and festival practice; the process of rediscovery, however, introduced multiple challenges (Arnold, 2000b, c, d). Centuries of transformation of traditional cultures have made this task of relearning difficult. The distintegration of culture, caused both by external and internal drivers, was recognized as issues raised revolved around the relocation of indigenous people, cultural authenticity, the introduction of social class systems within their societies and the breaking down of the sense of community. Accordingly, indigenous community leaders have begun preparing for indigenous festival tourism as a cultural revitalization effort and a social transformation process as much as for economic development reasons (Table 5.1).

The major indigenous visitor market at the turn of the century comprises scholars, leaders, artists and cultural interpreters of the indigenous communities of 50 countries. Authenticity, ethnicity, ownership and right of presentation of the languages, symbols, music, arts and rituals are significant issues to be discussed and resolved (Arnold, 2000b, c, d). These learning needs draw the indigenous community to Australia, New Zealand and to some communities in Africa and South America where traditional rituals are still practised. International interest in indigenous traditions and people has drawn response for restoration of indigenous communities also in Taiwan, China, Tibet, Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand (Arnold, 1995, 1997).

A companion issue raised by some indigenous artists was the right, as contemporary people, to be recognized as artists within a contemporary world. The desire by indigenous leaders and the visitor market to rediscover lost civilizations and culture has placed pressure on many artists and youth to be strictly traditional rather than contemporary artists (Arnold, 1997). At the individual level, artists were experiencing a challenge in maintaining a sense of balance as a traditional and contemporary person; at the community level, the challenge appeared in establishing a sense of balance between individual rights and cultural community responsibility was witnessed during the Soil of Flame projects (Table 5.2; Arnold, 2000b, c, d) and in the previous decade during the cultural tourism development projects in California (Table 5.1; Arnold, 1997).

The consensus of the participants in seminars, tours and festival training sessions in these trail projects confirmed a festival practice that treasured the traditional practice through ritual openings, and then followed with interpretation of traditional dress, dance,

foods, medicine and other routine life. As the concerts and exhibitions unfolded, the audience was drawn into new century entertainment, fashions and art of indigenous people. Many of the traditional leaders embraced the young performers who extended the history theme (Arnold, 2000b, c, d). Caught between a desire to treasure their legends and a need to call world attention to the responsibility of earth's stewardship, some indigenous leaders now share their traditional festivals with the visitor market. The decision to approve the practice of releasing youth for contemporary expressions and international travel remains unresolved, however, for leaders in some communities, particularly in communities in which the issues of cultural protocol and disclosure of traditional stories and practice are yet to be settled.

Paralleling the traditional cultural experiences are the *Heritage Festivals Trails of Europe* that trace multiple threads of cultural difference. This multi dimensional pathway, which initially meandered in an evolutionary pace through the centuries, has begun to fuse with the assist of dynamic advancements in communication and travel technologies. For example, European heritage trails appear not only in Europe but also in Africa, America, Australia and many islands that hosted the venturers, invaders, pioneers, military, artists and others who established settlements. The European trails are mirrored in nineteenth-century trails through Africa and in the twentieth-century Chinese 'paper' trails following the 1910 revolution.

As the history of the world at war unfolded in the twentieth century, immigrants and multinational governing bodies transported their traditional and classical cultures to many continents. The continuing flight of refugees, their artefacts and the festival tourism practices, while expanding community awareness of diverse cultural practices, has also increased the challenge of preserving historic festival trails. Through the intermingling of the resident and immigrant cultures over several generations, new era cultures now celebrate multiracial heritage and mingle with enthusiasm the ingredients of foods, music, dance, art, styles and philosophies.

Between the future focus and the historical treks is a mass festival market *Celebrating Innovation*. These travellers explore inventions outside of their industrial experience. Innovations in healing and art within the original gathering and harvesting communities are as fascinating as the technologies that transformed the industrial age into time periods earmarked by electronic, communication, information and new energy discoveries. Trade shows, conventions, exhibitions, conferences and industrial showcases and tours are the dominant features of these festive learning and trade environments. The festival activities are electronic designed for mass and popular cultural interests.

Coexisting with, and in some cases, despite these tourism market events, community festivals survive. *Celebrating A Sense of Place* community festivals are organized within a social or cultural construct of a region. Referred to as 'Inward Based Tourism' (Brohman, 1997; Crompton, 1995; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Lenzi, 1996; Mayfield and Murphy, 1985; Oppermann, 1997; Selin and Chavez, 1995; and Somerset, 1995), the festival activities tend to be exclusive to one or more social or cultural conclaves of a community. In efforts to increase cash flows into their neighbourhood arts programmes, historic societies and

social charities, community festivals attach to local fairs, trade shows and tourism ventures. The affiliation introduces multiple leadership personalities, structures and decision-making processes, adding a level of **organizational complexity** to both the festivals and to tourism endeavours.

Implications of these continuing festival themes suggest.

- people will continue to participate in festival tourism for the same reasons; how they celebrate and who celebrates, however, has changed over-time with improved travel and communication technology;
- the dichotomies of festival tourism may lessen as greater numbers of people gain access to mass communications and mass transportation;
- traditional and heritage festival tourism will **increase** as more cultural groups seek opportunities to learn about their original cultures, and the reasons behind the sets of values, rituals, symbolism and artistic styles of their festivals.
- the case for regional festival tourism development is significant as many of the original and immigrant cultures of traditional and heritage trails reside in rural communities.

Considering the Future

In this chapter, the author **has reflected on** only three of the challenges in festival tourism which appear to have confronted festival tourism development over the past two decades:

1. the effect of **ebb and flow patterns** on festival tourism;
2. the appearance of new sets of challenges in short-term and long-term planning within changing environments; and
3. the **emergence of multiple festival themes, styles and directions.**

In pondering over the past, the research team reviewed the ebb and flow patterns that induced change and established dichotomies or introduced opportunities. In so doing, they recognized the exponential rate of **change** in travel and communication technology during the last century that has underwritten the multicultural flow of people into urban centres around the world. As the generations that follow experience cosmopolitan life in the new century, their festivals are expected to celebrate the 'high-energy-high-tech' innovations of a space age.

As the team of researchers reflected on communication and transportation advances and the dichotomy issues that **prevailed** in contemporary research literature and festival practice, they glimpsed a change on the horizon. The change is occurring both at the village level and in some communities in the Highlands of Scotland, in the Andes Mountain Range, in Alaska and in the desert communities of North America, as residents like into a global communication corridor. Communities of 100 or a 1000 people are **participating** in discussions with scientists, philosophers and artists around the world. In this festival of cyberspace, ancient villages are celebrating a sense of global community.

Further research found interactive 'indigenous' arts sales from Tibet through Australia to the United States. Fifty-two indigenous nations are using technological enhanced communication to go on-line to sell art and other cultural products. Interaction communication technology between indigenous people and the 'virtual markets' of the world efforts the economic advantage of tourism without intrusion of visitors in the village.

Not to be outdone, indigenous youth with the without the consent of their communities have also begun to travel. For example, within six months following the Soil of Flame Festival trial projects (Arnold, 1997b) in which indigenous youth in Queensland worked with indigenous Americans artists, they had boarded aeroplanes in search of cultural tourism development examples in Canada and the United States of America. During this venture, they performed in the opening and closing ceremonies of the World Indigenous Games in Canada. Within another six months, as cultural tourism performers, they toured Japan, France and Russia, and then returned for performance tours to Canada and America. In each instance the youth, unable to raise grants or sponsorship funds, saved money from their afterschool jobs to pay for transatlantic transport. Their efforts were endorsed by the indigenous communities who hosted the youth as artists in residence.

In observing these global link festival tours and the endeavours of youth, the research team gained greater insight into the history of cultures and the reasons for their festival and tourism practice. Festivals offered not only outlets for celebration, but also encouraged a desire to exchange ideas, to test skills, to explore one's senses, to interact with people who share common or different values and lifestyles and to renew cultural ties within the microcosm of the community.

In the new century, the research teams anticipated community festivals would continue to increase, fulfilling a need both for maintaining a sense of place within a rapidly changing environment and for establishing opportunities for continual learning in order to keep up with the changes. The research teams also considered that even as communication and travel technology continues to extend the global reach of many more communities, festival tourism will continue to serve as a process for expanding community insight. Beyond the celebration, festival tourism will link, in time, multiple pathways between global villages of the new century.

Tourism in an Era of Information Technology

Introduction: Organizations in the Networked Era

Recent developments in information technologies (ITs) and in particular the introduction of the Internet and the World Wide Web (www) in the early 1990s introduced a new era in human communication and revolutionized the entire range of business transaction. Multimedia protocols enabled the instant distribution of media-rich documents (such as textual data, graphics, pictures, video and sounds), effectively revolutionizing the interactivity between people, consumers and organizations (Buhalis *et al.*, 1998; Buhalis and Schertler, 1999). The Internet established an innovative and user friendly platform for efficient, live and timely exchange of ideas and products providing unprecedented opportunities for communication and interaction. The pace of development demonstrates that the Internet restructures the lives of people and business processes world wide and introduces new practices such as home shopping, tele-entertainment, teleworking, telelearning, telemedical support and telebanking. Eventually the electronic/interactive/intelligent/virtual home and enterprise will emerge, facilitating the entire range of communications with the external world and supporting all functions of everyday personal and professional life through interactive computer networks. The Internet also influences global political life, as it introduces a democratic, transparent, uncontrollable and difficult to dominate way of communication, where everyone is more or less able to broadcast his/her views, regardless of hierarchical rankings and political power. The Internet 'has the capacity to change everything—the way we work, the way we learn and play and even may be the way we sleep or have sex' (Symonds, 1999).

The Internet is particularly relevant to tourism as it facilitates interactivity between the enterprise and the external world, however distant. Thus it is re-engineering the entire range of process and transactions undertaken by organizations to communicate with their partners, customers and suppliers, and provides unique opportunities for

interactive marketing to all service providers. Once the communication protocols were established, similar methodologies were used to re-engineer internal processes and communication with trusted and valuable partners. *Intranets* emerged to operate as closed or secured networks within organizations and transformed their interactivity and internal processes. By using a single controlled, user-friendly interface, organization can distribute all relevant data to employees by using multimedia representations. This empowers their function and supports the formulation of close partnerships with other members of the value chain for the production of goods and services. More recently, *Extranets* use the same principles and computer networks to enhance interactivity and transparency between organizations and trusted partners. By linking and sharing data and processes they formulate low-cost and user-friendly electronic commerce arrangements. Automation of standard procedures supports the effectiveness of business networks and encourages closer collaboration. The combination of all three systems constitutes the networking environment which will increasingly determine the competitiveness of organizations around the globe.

TOTAL INTERNET

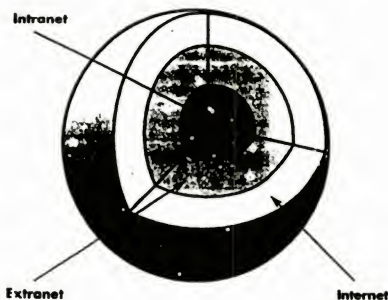


Figure 6.1 The ITs nucleus in operations

Networking is therefore the most important element of the contemporary information technology revolution. Synergies and interoperability between processes, departments, external partners and the entire range of functions enable organizations to reduce their labour cost, increase efficiency, exercise flexible specialization and differentiation and support their decision-making processes. Developments on software and integration of entire processes reduce work duplication, whilst enhancing transparency of information and decisions within organizations, empowering employees to improve their performance. Networking is experienced within organizations between organizations and their partners as well as between the entire world of individuals and enterprises. As illustrated in Figure 6.1 the Internet as well as Intranets and Extranets provide the nucleus of operations and strategies for the entire range of organizations globally.

Tourism and Information Technology

During the last decade, researchers have begun to illustrate how ITs will affect tourism. Sheldon (1997) suggests that 'information is the life-blood of the travel industry', and therefore effective use of ITs is pivotal for its competitiveness and prosperity. Tourism is also inevitably influenced by the business process reengineering experienced in other sectors due to the technological revolution. Therefore, 'a whole system of ITs is being rapidly diffused throughout the tourism industry and no player will escape its impacts' (Poon, 1993). ITs developments represent a revolution for the tourism industry, whose impact is perhaps only paralleled by the introduction of the jet engine. As with other industries (Tapscott, 1996; Tapscott and Caston, 1993; Hammer and Champy, 1993), the re-engineering of business processes in tourism generated a paradigm shift, altering the structure of the industry and developing a whole range of opportunities and threats for all stakeholders.

ITs empower the emerging globalization of tourism demand and supply experienced worldwide. At the same time they propel it by providing effective tools to consumers for identifying and purchasing suitable products and to suppliers for developing, managing and distributing their offerings on a global scale. ITs therefore become an imperative partner as they increasingly determine the interface between consumer and suppliers (O'Connor, 1999; Vlitos-Rowe, 1995). More importantly, ITs will be determining the competitiveness of tourism destinations and enterprises as they will influence their ability to differentiate their offerings as well as their production and delivery costs (Buhalis, 1998a and 1998b).

Tourism demand and information technology

In the late 1990s, the proliferation of the Internet revolutionized communications as it enabled organizations to demonstrate their offerings globally using multimedia interfaces (Smith and Jenner, 1998). Consumers are empowered through the new tools to search for information and to undertake on-line reservations. The availability of information on everything conceivable enables consumers to package their own bundles of tourism products and to purchase only the most suitable products for their own individual needs. Suppliers on the other hand have an unprecedented opportunity to communicate with their target markets globally, to develop their global presence and to establish direct relationships with consumers. Nobody really knows how many consumers are currently connected to the Internet and how many of them buy products electronically. Figures 6.2 and 6.3 illustrate the latest estimates of the on-line population in certain countries. It is estimated that 150 million people or 2 per cent of the global population use the Internet currently (Taylor, 1999). Most Internet users are well-educated professionals who travel frequently and therefore should have a higher disposable income, as well as a higher propensity to spend on tourism products (Smith and Jenner, 1998). On line surveys clearly demonstrate this point (www.nua.com). These markets are targeted by most destinations and tourism organizations and hence the industry has to reflect on their needs and abilities in order to take advantage of the emerging tools. The rapid growth rate and the expeditious increase of on-line revenue experienced in most industries, including tour-

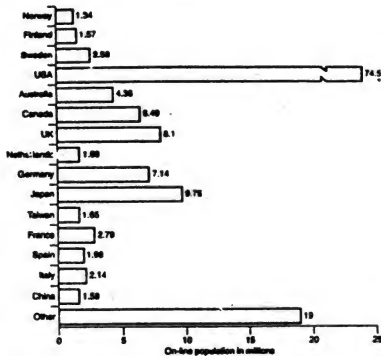


Figure 6.2 On-line population in millions. *Source:* Taylor, 1999

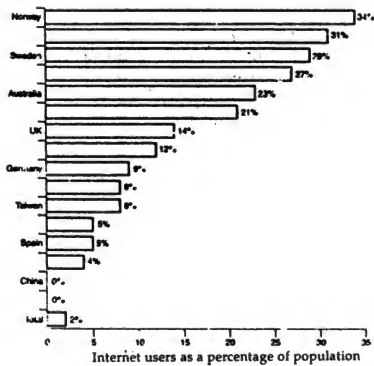


Figure 6.3 Internet users as a percentage of population. *Source:* Taylor, 1999

ism, illustrates that electronic commerce will dominate by the year 2005. This justifies massive investments by organizations to develop their electronic presence.

The usage of ITs is also driven by both the development of the volume and complexity of tourism demand. The WTO (1988) argues that 'the key to success lies in the quick identification of consumer needs and in reaching potential clients with comprehensive, personalised and up-to-date information. Consumers not only require value for money, but also value for time for the entire range of their dealings with organization. This reflects people's shortage of time, evident in Western societies. Increasingly, ITs, and the Internet in particular, enable travellers to access reliable and accurate information as well as to undertake reservations in a fraction of time, cost and inconvenience required by conventional methods. ITs can also improve the service quality and contribute to higher guest/traveller satisfaction by providing additional information, in-flight and in-room entertainment as well as by differentiating products according to individual tastes at an affordable cost.

The Internet is revolutionizing flexibility in both consumer choice and service delivery processes. Every tourist is different, carrying a unique blend of experiences, motivations and desires, often as a result of previous experience, background and social status. Increasingly customers become much more sophisticated and discerning as they have experienced high levels of service and they enjoy advanced facilities in their everyday environment. Tourists become demanding, requesting high-quality products and value for both their money and perhaps more importantly their time. Having experienced several products, the new, experienced, sophisticated, demanding travellers rely heavily on electronic media to obtain information about destinations and experiences, as well as to be able to communicate their needs and wishes to suppliers rapidly. Tourists are increasingly frequent travellers, linguistically and technologically skilled and can function in multicultural and demanding environments overseas. The Internet has empowered the 'new' type of tourist to become more knowledgeable and to seek exceptional value for money and time. New consumers are more culturally and environmentally aware and they would often like a greater involvement with the local society. Using the Internet not only provides information about the tourism products they can consume but also a whole range of additional data about the resources, history, social and economic structure of destinations. In this sense certain consumer groups are better equipped to engage in social interaction with locals and to use their travels as an educational experience. Tourists therefore will tend to participate in the experience by being active and spending their time on their special interests. Leisure time will increasingly be perceived as an exploration as well as for both personal and professional development (WTO, 1999). Thus, consumer satisfaction will increasingly depend on the accuracy and comprehensiveness of specific information on destinations' accessibility, facilities, attractions and activities. Its enable tourism enterprises to develop and deliver complex offerings to satisfy specific interests. This supports the segmentation function to specific niche segments. Increasingly success will depend on the quick identification of consumer needs and interaction with prospective clients by using comprehensive, personalized and up-to-date communication media for the design of products. Speed of acknowledging and satisfying enquiries may even be more important than product attributes as increasingly consumers make emotional decisions, under time pressure. Although competition will be more fierce as consumers have

access to endless numbers of suppliers, providing value for time will be at least equally important to value for money.

Although many consumers currently use the Internet for collecting information and building their itinerary, the majority still use traditional intermediaries to book their tourism products. Research has demonstrated that several factors discourage people from booking on-line, as illustrated in Table 6.1. Although these factors deter on-line purchases in the short-term, it is estimated that consumers will familiarize themselves with the new tools and take increasing advantage of the Internet. Progress is also evident in the design and interactivity of Internet pages as well as the speed, security and reliability of funds transfers. Tourism organizations also realize their benefits and change their business practices to take advantage of the on-line bookings. As a result they offer special discounts to on-line bookers, distribute their excess capacity on-line for a fraction of the cost and include telephone numbers with support operators should consumers require assistance.

TABLE 6.1 Reasons Discouraging People from Purchasing Tourism Products on-line.

User/Client factors	Internet/ Business factors
Safety and security	Not enough selection
Navigation difficulty	Internet too slow
Cannot see or touch the product	Internet chaotic and difficulty in finding suitable information
No trust, unfamiliar name	Higher prices
Prefer regular travel agency	Cost of telephone calls
Afraid of making mistakes	
Did not realize that could make reservations	

Source: Adapted from Pho Cus Wright, 1998; Forrester, 1999.

Challenges and Opportunities for the Tourism Industry

The recent technological developments have a major effect on the operation, structure and strategy of tourism organizations and destinations, mainly by enabling efficient co-operation between partners for the provision and distribution of seamless tourism products and by offering strategic tools for global expansion. The ability of enterprises to communicate and co-operate efficiently with remote branches, destinations, principals, agencies and to control their operational elements, support the expansion of their activities. Both operational (e.g. schedule planning, pricing, inventory handling and reservations) and support (e.g. payroll, accounting, marketing) functions are improved considerably. Based on the Internet and other IT tools, they can reduce both communication and operational costs and at the same time enhance their flexibility, interactivity, efficiency, productivity and competitiveness.

As well as expanding geographically and penetrating new markets, perhaps more importantly they can expand their activities through horizontal, vertical and diagonal integration. ITs have a dramatic impact on the travel industry because they force this

sector as a whole to rethink them in which it organizes its business, its values or norms of behaviour and the way in which it educates its workforce (Vlitos-Rowe, 1995; Poon, 1993; Buhalis, 1995). Entrepreneurs often develop innovative practices, which if successful can be adopted by others. The competitiveness both of enterprises and regions is therefore redefined, based on the conditions of utilization, development and application of new technologies.

The revolution of ITs is leading to a shift from product-oriented organizations to a flexible and responsive market place, where success depends on sensing and responding to rapidly changing customer needs, using ITs for delivering the right product, at the right time, at the right price, to the right customer. ITs become the backbone of the tourism value chain and are critical in defining the competitiveness and prosperity of enterprises and regions by either improving their cost or differentiation advantage. A comprehensive re-engineering of the market place propels new best management practices to take advantage of the new ITs tools (Werthner and Klein, 1999; Karcher, 1997; Minghetti and Mangilli, 1998).

Distribution is one of the few elements of the marketing mix which can still improve the competitiveness and performance of enterprises. ITs support the achievement of competitive advantages by increasing the unique characteristics of products, as well as enhancing efficiency throughout the production and distribution processes. ITs transform distribution to an electronic market place, where access to information is achieved, while interactivity between principals and consumers provides major opportunities. It also enables the design of specialized products and promotion in order to maximize the value-added for individual consumers, and to enhance the total quality of product (fitness to purpose) (Hawkins *et al.*, 1996; Buhalis, 1995; Mutch, 1995). Packaging tourism is becoming a much more client-based activity and, thus, a certain degree of disintermediation of the channel is inevitable, offering opportunities and threats for partners.

The Travel Industry Association of America predicts that by the year 2002 airline tickets purchased on-line will account for \$ 6.5 billion. Airline tickets accounted for 90 per cent of all on-line travel sales, generating \$ 243m in revenue in 1996. Although in 1996 only less than 1 per cent of all airline ticket revenue came from on-line sources, it is anticipated by that by the year 2002 it will increase to 8.2 per cent and will be the leading travel purchase on the Internet (TLA, 1997). ITs are also instrumental in the globalization of the industry. In airlines, global alliances, such as the 'One World', 'Qualifyer', 'Star Alliances' and others, are only possible because of the co-ordination that can be achieved through harmonized IT systems or through effective interfaces. In effect, consumers receive a seamless service, collect frequent flyer miles and enjoy privileges from different carriers in all continents simply because ITs provide the 'infra-structure' for close collaboration. Similarly, the expansion of hotel groups globally are facilitated by uniform electronic systems which allow the head office to monitor the progress and operational functions of remote properties. Hence, ITs not only influence most elements of the marketing mix of tourism enterprises, but they also determine their strategic directions, partnerships and ownership.

Innovative organizations which respond to current and future challenges by de-

signing new processes and adapting to new trends, will take advantage of the emerging opportunities and increase their market share. Corporations need to convert their operations from business functions to business processes, as well as redesign their distribution channels strategy. Even more significantly, this implies changes to long-term planning and strategy. Rational management will need to ensure that organizations reach their optimum capacity and achieve sustainable competitive advantage. Human resources are also becoming critical for the success of tourism organizations of the future as they will need effective and innovative users of ITs who can lead change in a dynamic and uncertain environment. Intellect, therefore, becomes a critical asset for the competitiveness of enterprises and continuous education and training will need to support all levels of organizations. In contrast, enterprises and destinations which fail to take advantage of the emerging opportunities and address these issues, can jeopardize their market share, competitiveness, prosperity and even existence.

Industry Pioneers

Several success stories are quoted in the tourism industry of pioneers who use Internet-based interfaces to develop and distribute their products. A new breed of intermediaries and enterprises have emerged to take advantage of the new capabilities of the Internet (e.g. Travel Web, Internet Travel Network, Expedia, Travelocity) as illustrated in Table 6.2. In addition, a number of discount and auction specialists undertake electronic auctions as well as sell distressed capacity and discounted travel products (e.g., www.priceline.com; www.previewtravel.com; www.select.com; www.a2btravel.com; www.barginholidays.com; www.cheapflights.com; www.lastminute.com) TIA, 1997; Wardell, 1998).

TABLE 6.2 Tourism Electronic Intermediaries Emerging in the Electronic Market Place in 1998.

	<i>Expedia.com</i>	<i>ITN</i>	<i>Preview Travel</i>	<i>Travelocity</i>
Registered users	2m	4m	3.4m	2.5m
Page Views/month	NA	15m	NA	40m
Unique Visitors/month	2,341,000	NA	1,608,000	2,441,000
Visits per month	NA	7.5m	6.3m	NA
Estimated gross bookings/month	\$ 12m	\$ 10m	\$ 12m	\$ 16m

Source: Adapted from Sileo, 1998

Success stories include new types of intermediaries such as the Travel Web (www.travelweb.com) which represents 18,000 hotels belonging to 90 chains. About 17,000 are bookable on-line and TravelWeb attracts 6.5m page accesses per month, while their predicted on-line travel sales by the year 2000 is expected to reach \$ 4.7 billion (Hart, 1998). Preview travel (www.previewtravel.com) reached 6.4 million subscribers on 31 December 1998, up 145 per cent from the previous year. Expedia (expedia.com) (the Microsoft on-line travel agency) has emerged in the top 25 travel agencies in the USA in less than 3 years. Some of the Expedia figures clearly illustrate the trends: \$ 8.5 million per week in

travel related sales; more than \$ 430m in sales in October 1998; 1 million airline tickets sold already; 3 million visitors per month and 3 million registered users (Nell, 1998; Hart, 1998).

Principals also take advantage of the Internet by passing agencies and thus reducing commission costs. Although most of the people use web sites for information and then book through conventional channels, innovative principles take advantage and sell an increasing percentage of their capacity on-line. Marriott Hotels already enjoys '13,000 visits per day and is now conducting well over \$ 1.5 m of business every month over the net. In 1998 it took more than \$ 50 m in on-line reservations, an increase of 213 per cent over the 1997 figures with 80 per cent of the business coming directly from their Internet site (www.marriott.com). Traffic to the site increased by 367 per cent over the same period equating to almost ten million new visitors. This performance not only increased the revenue and market share of the company, but is also reduced its distribution, promotion and marketing costs contributing directly to the bottom line (Dennis, 1998). British Airways' Internet site (www.British-airways.com) currently achieves 1.5 m visits per month, while the average growth of on-line bookings has been 11 per cent per month. BA estimates that by the year 2003 more than 50 per cent of its bookings will be coming through the Internet (Skapinker, 1999). Small carriers with limited financial resources already see the benefits through direct bookings. As illustrated in Figure 6.4 easyJet (www.easyjet.com), having launched its site in September 1997 and having started electronic commerce in April 1998, already sells between 25 and 35 per cent of its seats electronically and sales often exceed 30,000 tickets per week. EasyJet uses the slogan 'the web's favourite airline' and gives as £1 discount (almost equal to the incentive commission paid to staff) to all passengers booking on-line (Rosen, 1999). The figures often quoted for American carriers are significantly greater as a result of the penetration of the Internet. It is evident therefore that only tourism organization and destinations that prepare their presence in the emerging electronic market place will be able to gain some of the projected benefits and achieve competitive advantages.

Small and medium-sized tourism enterprises

Although larger organizations seem most likely to capitalize on the new tools, the vast majority of tourism enterprises are small medium-sized tourism enterprises (SMTEs) which are often independent, seasonal, peripheral and family-run organizations. Research into the marketing and management of SMTEs suggests that growing concentration and globalization increasingly threaten them. Their future is also jeopardized by internal weaknesses, namely lack of professionalism, inadequacy of management and marketing skills. They also lack economies of scale available to larger, often chain-based accommodation establishments in terms of access to necessary capital, human resources, marketing expertise and technology and are frequently overdependent on few distribution partners. Insufficient formal education or training also means that proper business practices and skills are often absent, placing SMTEs at a competitive disadvantage. As a result, they are unable to market their products adequately and suffer a wide range of deficiencies, which have dramatic effects on their profitability and ability to survive in the emerging global competition era (Buhalis and Cooper, 1998; Cooper and Buhalis, 1992).

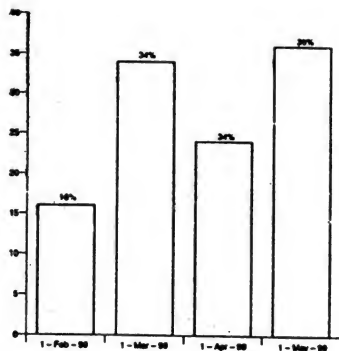


Figure 6.4 EasyJet web sales percentage for week ending as shown.

Source: Rosen 1999, p. 7

SMTEs often fail to use the emerging tools, as a result of several factors illustrated in Table 6.3 SMTEs are getting increasingly marginalized as they tend to lack both resources and expertise to take advantage of the emergent technologies. Hence, SMTEs and independent properties are the weakest and most vulnerable part of the tourism and hospitality hotel industry as they are at risk of losing a substantial slice of their business. As a result, they continue to lose market share and fail to attract new target markets and SMTEs are placed at a major disadvantage and jeopardizing their future existence (Buhalis, 1999; Buhalis and Main, 1998; Go and Welch, 1991; Chervenak, 1993; Go, 1992).

TABLE 6.3 Factors Affecting ITs Penetration to SMTEs

-
- ITs literacy of entrepreneurs.
 - the cost of ITs is often perceived as prohibitive for entrepreneurs
 - inability to operate and control technological equipment
 - perceived dependence on trained staff
 - lack of standardization and often professionalism
 - seasonality and limited period of operations in resorts
 - lack of marketing and technology understanding
 - insufficient training and established organizational practices
 - small size multiplies the administration required by CRSs to deal with each properly
 - unwillingness of SMTEs to lose control over their property to agents or IT staff
-

As computers become smaller, quicker and cheaper, even the smallest companies can afford some basic systems. ITs equipment and expenses are becoming essential and are part of the core product and investment. Morrison (1994) explains that three types of participation expenses are required, namely economic in commission and fees; operational as a degree of autonomy to be sacrificed; and rules and sanctions which reduce their flexibility and individuality. Unless SMTEs develop their Internet presence and interactivity as part of their marketing strategy, they will lose market share, increase their dependence on intermediaries and jeopardize their profitability and existence. SMTEs have no other alternative than to understand their markets and initiate changes in their management and technology in order to serve their new markets adequately. SMTEs cannot afford to continue watching the rapid developments of ITs with apathy as the future of those which will be unavailable on the electronic market place and thus inaccessible to consumers and intermediaries will be questionable.

Nevertheless, there is evidence suggesting that innovative small operators increasingly take advantage of the situation and profit. Small properties, which advertise and offer on-line bookings, are reported to achieve as much as 60 per cent of their reservations through the Internet. Although there is an element of replacement of media in this figure, there is an emerging new market which will only search for products and services on-line and this can assist SMTEs to attract new business. The Corisande Manor Hotel in Cornwall is an example of best practice in IT usage. Not only does it receive 90 per cent of its bookings through the Internet but it has also developed a new part of the business where it assists other SMTEs to develop their Internet presence for a fee. David Grant bought the hotel in 1997 and realized that advertisements in the Sunday press were ineffective as they were very expensive but yielded low results. He taught himself a web authoring package and developed his Internet domain (www.cornwall-calling.com).

TABLE 6.4 Cost and Benefit Analysis for Developing Internet Presence for SMTEs

Costs

-
- Cost of purchasing hardware, software and communication package
 - Training cost of users
 - Design and construction of Internet presence
 - Cost of hosting the site on a reliable server
 - Ongoing maintenance and regular updating
 - Marketing the Internet service and registration of domain
 - Development of procedures for dealing with Internet presence
 - Commissions for purchases on-line by intermediaries
 - Advertising fees for representation in search engines and other sites.
 - Interconnectivity with travel intermediaries such as TravelWeb: ITN, Expedia
-

Benefits

-
- Direct bookings, often intermediaries and commission-free
 - Global distribution of multimedia information and promotional material
-

- Low cost of providing and distributing timely updates of information
- Global presence on the Internet, 24 hours a day, 365 days a year
- Durability of promotion (in comparison to limited life of printed advertising in press)
- Reduction of promotional cost and reduction of brochure waste
- Great degree of attention by visitors to web site
- Reduction of time required for transactions and ability to offer last-minute promotions
- Low marginal cost of providing information to additional users
- Support of marketing intelligence and product design functions
- Development of targeted mailing lists through people who actively request information
- Greater interactivity with prospective customers
- Niche marketing to prospective consumers who request to receive information
- Interactivity with local partners and provision of added value products at destinations
- Ability to generate a community feel for current users and prospective customers

co.uk). He decided that instead of showing pictures of the hotel he should provide destination content and attract people to Cornwall. In each page a slogan appeared: 'If you come to Cornwall why not stay at the Corisande Manor, offering a link to his hotel with plenty of information and pictures demonstrating a home feel. As a result, 90 per cent of bookings currently come through e-mails. Following this success David Grant developed the Soft-Options. Internet company (www.softoptions.co.uk) which registered. Internet domains for all the UK regions (such as www.greatbritain.co.uk; www.capital-calling.co.uk; www.wales-calling.co.uk). He offers a package solution for small properties where the design and management of their web presence is charged \$ 950 for the first year and less during consequent years. He suggest that a minimum of one to two hundred hits per day is needed to provide a critical mass for SMTEs to make the Internet a valuable generator of bookings. Based on his experience, Grant suggests that around 1 per cent of browsers normally e-mail hotels for information and 50 per cent of those book a room, depending on the speed in replying to e-mails and the quality of the site and the hotel.

A careful cost and benefit analysis can demonstrate that developing an Internet presence can be affordable and much more effective than other promotional and communication tools. Table 6.4 illustrates a comprehensive framework of all cost and benefit elements for developing an Internet presence for SMTEs.

Most costs and benefits are management and marketing-based, rather than IT based. Hence it is evident that competent and innovative entrepreneurs will find the Internet more beneficial than their counterparts who lack marketing or management skills, abilities and knowledge. Costs can be reduced by intensive management, marketing and IT training for SMTEs which will enable them to develop a comprehensive marketing strategy and use ITs as a strategic tools for their long-term development (Buhalis, 1999; Buhalis and Keeling, 1999).

Destinations

In addition to individual efforts, SMTEs should also establish collaborative ventures at the destination level, which would enable small firms to pool resources and share development and operation costs. Partnerships between private and public sectors as well as close collaboration are critical for the success of such schemes (Buhalis and Cooper, 1998; Buhalis, 1998a). Networks of shared costs-resources-information can assist small hotels to alleviate some of the constraints of being small sized and to assist them to obtain more benefits from scale economies. This co-operation needs support by public tourism organizations as well as associations of local tourist enterprises. 'There will be no place for the small stand alone participants, but the world can become the oyster for the small, innovative, flexible and networked enterprises' (Poon, 1988).

SMTEs' co-operative participation on the Internet and electronic market place through the development of Destination Management Systems (DMSs) is therefore suggested as a strategic direction (Sheldon. 1993, 1997; Archdale. 1993; Buhalis, 1993, 1994 and 1997). DMSs revolutionize destination marketing as they 'combine a radically improved and rapidly evolving methodology [computing] with new or better communications [telecommunication networks] in order to satisfy a growing private sector market [tourism] (Archdale *et al.*, 1992). It is estimated that 200 destination-oriented systems of various kinds emerged in the early 1990s. As these systems facilitate the dissemination of information and reservation functions for destinations, DMSs are emerging as a major promotion, distribution and operational tool for both destinations and SMTEs. Buhalis (1994) has taken the DMS concept a step forward, to Destination Integrated Computerised Information Reservation Management Systems (DICIRMSs). DICIRMSs are ideal systems based on integration of technologies, for the integration of the local tourism industry and the integration of regional economies. DICIRMSs ultimately empower the strategic management and marketing of destinations and integrate both micro and macro functions at the destination level. Their contribution is to strategic management and marketing, which is demonstrated by their ability to co-ordinate and manage destinations as well as increase the intra-channel power of principals within the distribution channel, elevates them to strategic tools. This can support the achievement of long-term prosperity for indigenous people, maximization of returns of investments for tourism enterprises and can also enhance the quality of products and satisfaction of consumers/tourists. DICIRMSs are expected to benefit the prosperity of both local enterprises and destinations by facilitating the tourism value chain and by creating a system of wealth creation for all stakeholders at the destination level (Buhalis, 1995).

However, despite the conceptual developments on DMSs, the majority of public tourism organizations' projects have a high failure rate, as they often fail to attract the support and commitment required from the private and public sectors as well as funds for their development. DMSs hitherto have also failed to attract a critical mass of tourism demand to break even. Two systems, Gulliver, the Irish DMS, and the Tyrolean TIS cover in Austria, are widely seen as an exception to the rule. Both systems have followed a very dynamic development and adopted their technological basis and ownership status. They remain as the few operational and successful systems in the world (O' Connor and Rafferty,

1997; Frew and O' Connor, 1998; 1999; Werthner and Klein, 1999).

Synthesis—Tourism in the Networking Era

Technology presents an opportunity and a challenge for the tourism industry. Although there is a degree of uncertainty over future developments of information technology, the only constant will be change. In this environment, organizations which need to compete will need to compute. IT developments and the proliferation of the Internet has introduced a new networking era which is changing not only 'best' managerial practices but also the way of life in most Western societies. ITs stimulate radical changes in the operation, distribution and structure of the tourism industry. Consequently, a paradigm shift is transforming business practices and introducing great benefits in the efficiency, differentiation, cost reduction and response time of organizations. ITs re-engineer both tourism operations and distribution channels. In the future, the visibility of principals in the market place will be a function of the technologies and networks used to interact with their individual and industry customers. Tourism enterprises will need to understand, incorporate and utilize ITs, in order to be able to serve their target markets, improve their efficiency, maximize profitability, enhance services and maintain long-term prosperity for themselves and for destinations.

Consumers are increasingly able and confident to browse through the Internet and identify a rich variety of offers in order to make travel choices suited to their personal requirements. Although the majority of users still 'look' but do not 'book', there is evidence that the percentage of on-line bookings is increasing rapidly. The focus is thus shifted towards individual travel and dynamic packages, enabling enterprises to target mini-segments and specialized interests. Technology empowers consumers to seek the best option, which satisfies their needs and wants, and thus it serves best a new type of sophisticated customer.

Although IT developments introduce a wide range of opportunities for innovative players, there is also a plethora of threats for members of the industry who will fail to change their practices and benefit from the new tools. A wide range of new players are attracted to the industry and larger organizations which have resources and expertise may increase their market share. Small and independent enterprises should therefore use innovation, differentiate their products and develop cost-effective interfaces with their markets and partners. Destinations can emerge as major beneficiaries of the ITs development, as they can take advantage of new strategic tools for management, planning and marketing through coordination of local product as well as increasing their power in the distribution channel. In order to achieve the above benefits, a closer partnership and co-operation is required throughout the tourism industry. The provision of seamless travel experiences requires the development of virtual corporations and platforms for interactive product design and service before, during and after the travelling experience. Training and education of human resources in new technologies are becoming even more critical in order to empower the tourism industry to strengthen its competitiveness. Hence, adaptation and innovation will enable the tourism industry to develop its organizational competitiveness and assist them to take the opportunities and avoid the threats which will emerge as the ITs revolution continues in the twenty-first century.

Knowledge Management through the Web: A New Marketing Paradigm for Tourism Organizations

Introduction

The rapid advancement of information technology, especially the Internet and the World Wide Web, is having a profound impact on the information-intensive travel and tourism industry. With electronic travel information available in a convenient and timely fashion and booking and reservation capabilities directly accessible for consumers, Internet technology is substantially altering the role of each player in the value-creation process of the industry. From a marketing perspective, the Web is giving rise to a new and very effective market communication channel, a 'marketspace' instead of the traditional market place (Rapport and Sviokla, 1995). The digital revolution changes the way in which companies collect, store and process data on consumer behaviour and the way marketers define price, promote and distribute their products.

Travel and tourism is the Internet's second largest commerce area after computer technology (Sheldon, 1997). The industry is very well represented on the WWW. A wealth of travel products and services and travel-related businesses are easily available over the Web. Government tourism offices and travel suppliers from destinations to airlines, hotels, car rentals, travel agencies, tour operators and attractions all over the world have home pages on the Web. The metamorphosis that the industry finds itself in poses challenges for tourism destinations and calls for a new paradigm to cope with the changes that are reshaping the industry and consumption patterns. The leading role in marketing a destination as a package to the rest of the world is usually played by National Tourism Organizations (NTOs), the national tourism authority in each country. NTOs are facing new challenges as well as new opportunities in the era of the information technology revolution. The Internet and the Web provide NTOs with a very effective market communication channel to disseminate information and knowledge about a destination to the

public. Meanwhile, the Web also provides an excellent opportunity for NTOs to capture customer knowledge, such as shifting preference towards travel products and destinations and varying travel behaviour patterns. Integrating them into a destination marketing strategy and product development is going to be paramount for these organizations. The key to achieving these goals is to make effective use of available information technology, especially the internet, and embrace a new but very important management tool: knowledge management. NTOs can use this mechanism to create an environment where information and knowledge about a destination are disseminated and shared with customers while knowledge about potential and actual travellers is captured, utilized and provided to other players in the industry.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the possible mechanism for NTOs to use over the Web to disseminate destination knowledge effectively, capture customer knowledge for marketing purposes and evaluate the current status of NTOs to embrace customer knowledge management.

KNOWLEDGE AND KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT

What is Knowledge?

The importance of knowledge and knowledge management has been emphasized increasingly as a result of the explosion of information technology. Knowledge has been regarded as the most important corporate asset for companies. Increased realization of knowledge as the core competence coupled with recent advances in information technology such as the World Wide Web has kindled keen interest in the subject of knowledge and knowledge management. Prominent authors such as Peter Drucker and Alvin Toffler herald the arrival of a knowledge economy or society. Drucker (1993) argues that, in the new economy, knowledge is not just another resource alongside the traditional factors of production—labour, capital and land but the only meaningful resource today. Toffler (1990) proclaims that knowledge is the source of the highest quality power and the key to the power shift that lies ahead. These authors agree that the future belongs to people and organizations endowed with knowledge.

What is knowledge? Knowledge, according to Drucker (1993) is 'information that changes something or somebody—either by becoming grounds for actions, or by making an individual (or an institution) capable of different or more effective action. Machlup (1980) suggests that knowledge can also be categorized as descriptive, procedural, reasoning, linguistic, assimilative and presentation. Descriptive knowledge is 'know-why'. The remaining three categories are ancillary types of knowledge that can be used either to interpret incoming observations, to alter the contents of a knowledge storehouse or to package outgoing messages. According to Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995), knowledge is more than just necessarily explicit—something formal and systematic. They draw on Polanyi's (1966) distinction between tacit knowledge and explicit knowledge. Tacit knowledge is personal, context-specific and therefore hard to formalize and communicate. Explicit or 'codified' knowledge is transmittable in formal, systematic language. Nonaka and Takeuchi explain that tacit knowledge and explicit knowledge are mutually

complementary entities which interact with and exchange into each other in the creative activities of human beings.

What is knowledge management?

There is not yet a common consensus on the concept of knowledge management. Newman's (1996) definition is that knowledge management is the collection of processes that govern the creation, dissemination and utilization of knowledge. Skyme (1996) explains that knowledge management has several categories: knowledge creation, knowledge accumulation, knowledge dissemination, knowledge sharing and knowledge use. He proposes that the major processes of a knowledge life cycle are: (1) creation/gathering/identifying; (2) organizing/ assimilating; (3) applying/using; (4) diffusing/disseminating; and (5) protecting. Newman (1996) added another dimension to Skyme's knowledge life cycle: the continuum of data, information, knowledge and intelligent behaviour. Malhotra (1998) emphasizes that knowledge management

caters to the critical issues of organizational adoption, survival and competence in the face of increasingly discontinuous environmental change. Essentially, it embodies organizational processes that seek a synergistic combination of data information processing capacity of information technologies, and the creative and innovative capacity of human beings.

Knowledge management and activities can occur. In both a traditional market place and the new on-line market environment. Researchers and practitioners have recognized the importance of a conscious strategy for businesses to encourage knowledge activities and effectively capture customer knowledge through the on-line environment and put it to utilization for possible value creation. Davenport (1994) notes that to maximize the potential for value creation, management needs to develop effective marketing communication channels and explicit customer knowledge capture strategies as part of their broader on-line agenda. These strategies should address a broad range of issues regarding targeting, capturing, leveraging and competing for information and knowledge about consumers. Once there is a clear focus on the information that is most valuable to the business, the next step is to assess the relative importance of on-line environments in facilitating customer knowledge capture and the specific approaches best suited to exploit the potential of on-line environments as a capture medium. Another challenge to face the organization, Davenport points out, is to make use of the knowledge captured or readily available for capture and the actual use of this information/ knowledge to create economic value. Knowledge management embodies organizational processes that seek synergistic combination of the data and information processing capacity of information technologies, and the creative and innovative capacity of human beings.

Skyme (1996) predicted that the challenge of the future is to learn to manage the 'mechanics' of knowledge. These mechanics will allow an infinite variety of 'knowledge connections' as in the Internet today, out of which individuals will carve their own knowledge spaces in global communities. These spaces will reflect their interests and personal values. Malhotra (1996) sees the future role of knowledge management as helping individuals make effective connections to like-minded people, to specific information and to

problem-solvers/helpers as well as to opportunities. Organizations of the future will overlap these communities and industries and seek opportunities to evolve their businesses with these networks of interest.

NTO and its New Marketplace

Virtually every country has a national tourism organization, either as part of a federal government agency or as a quasi-governmental entity. It is usually the official body with a network of overseas, state or city tourist offices, responsible for the development and marketing of the country as a tourism destination to the rest of the world in conjunction with the private sector (Mill and Morrison, 1992). Other tasks include (Pearce, 1992) information provision to potential travellers, travellers and travel intermediaries; and the collection and analysis of tourism statistics and assessment of the size and economic impact of tourism in the destination. Marketing and promotion of the country as a destination would nevertheless seem to be the dominant function (Middleton, 1988).

NTOs are usually considered the official government-backed provider of destination information and, therefore, are often considered as less biased compared with other tourism commercial sites. Traditionally, NTOs have distributed information by mailing printed materials and brochures in response to mail, fax and phone inquiries or have delivered destination marketing messages through TV commercials. Through provision of information, they also collect data on consumers and try to establish an effective communication channel with the consumers. However, comparing the traditional marketing communication approaches with what the internet can offer for NTOs as a marketing communication channel, the latter has much more efficiency, effectiveness and timeliness, especially when taking into account the huge growth potential of the Internet user market. This is due to the unique nature of this electronic communication channel that other marketing channels cannot match.

NTOs have numerous options to disseminate destination information electronically and the World Wide Web has provided an excellent way for information provision (Sheldon, 1997). According to Shaw and Gaines (1996), web technology provides a new knowledge medium in which artificial intelligence methodologies and systems can be integrated with hypermedia systems to support the knowledge processes of a variety of communities worldwide.

Many NTOs are already distributing information about their destination, travel products and services over the Web. However, the implications of using the Web as an information channel go far beyond information provision. The network-based NTO is strongly positioned to create value by aggregating people and resources on networks, thereby developing rich profiles of consumers and integrating these into both destination marketing strategy and travel product design and management. The interactive features of the Web have provided enormous opportunities for these groups to organize activities such as travel itinerary planning assistance, travel experiences and destination knowledge sharing in the market place. This in turn leads to opportunities for NTOs to understand consumer behaviour, build on-line virtual communities, influence consumer destination decision-making and ultimately influence customer loyalty, even using the Web as a word-of-mouth marketing tool.

NTOS' USE OF THE WEB AS A KNOWLEDGE ACTIVITY FACILITATOR

The Emergence of a New Marketing Paradigm

Today, consumers are well travelled, sophisticated and demand quality and value (Poon, 1996). As a result, the interaction between the product and the market in order for the product to comply with market conditions and exigencies is paramount. To sustain an effective strategy, a better understanding of the shift in consumer tastes and demand would definitely serve as the preliminary step to launch effective marketing programmes and give direction and guidance to industry players in travel product planning and packaging.

In today's business environment, on-line marketing activities facilitate on-line knowledge creation, sharing and utilization. Customer knowledge management on-line will become a critical issue for NTOs. In fact, on-line customer knowledge management may become a new marketing paradigm for NTOs. A knowledge management system seems to be the right solution.

To provide examples, we undertook a study of National Tourism Organization's web site in the context to knowledge activities and management. It attempted to see how NTOs use the web environment to facilitate and manage knowledge activities, optimize their on-line destination marketing communication efforts and investigate the potential for further developments. More specifically it was intended to find out: (1) what are the explicit knowledge presentation or dissemination facilitation features over the web sites of NTOs; (2) what are the mechanism that NTOs use over the Web to acquire customer knowledge and facilitate travellers or potential travellers in their information searching and destination knowledge acquisition; (3) what are the mechanisms that NTOs use to encourage and facilitate on-line knowledge sharing activities; (4) what are the efforts from NTOs to encourage visits and revisits of their web sites to create more opportunities for knowledge creation and sharing; and finally, (5) what are the potential opportunities for on-line knowledge utilization.

The organizations that were chosen for the study are the national tourist offices or agencies of the top fifteen tourism destinations of the world in terms of tourism receipts. The selected fifteen countries are the United States of America, France, Italy, Spain, the United Kingdom, Austria, Germany, Hong Kong, China, Thailand, Singapore, Switzerland, Canada, Poland and Australia. Due to the fact that USA, China and Poland did not have a national tourist office general web site at the time of the study, these three countries were dropped from the survey. The selection of the subjects does not imply that the chosen subjects maintain a higher level of knowledge activities or command a higher level of sophistication in on-line knowledge management. These twelve web sites are simply places to start. The data used in this study were collected between 15 February and 25 February 1999. All observations were made based on the main web site of each NTO and any modifications made by the NTOs after 25 February 1999 were not taken into consideration.

Explicit knowledge/information Dissemination through the Web

In terms of explicit knowledge/information distribution and dissemination, NTO web pages were studied in their application of presentation formats such as text, images, audio, video and employment of dissemination facilitation features such as language media choices, hyperlinks, search functions, list/drop boxes, etc. It is found that all web sites are text and hypertext based, with static images. The United Kingdom, Hong Kong and Switzerland have attempted to offer audio programmes such as music and narratives on-line on the Web. More countries use digital video programmes as a means of disseminating destination knowledge or information. Some are non-interactive (pure video *per se*) while others are interactive (such as virtual tours), where the viewers can have control over pace and content.

As to the knowledge dissemination facilitation features, most countries seem to have taken into consideration the fact that their audiences are people from all over the world with different language backgrounds. Almost all NTO web sites provide language choices to facilitate better comprehension of their web site content. English is the most commonly used language medium. There are variations as to the number of language versions provided by each destination. Countries that tend to be most advanced in using multilanguage presentation strategies are the United Kingdom, Switzerland, France, Hong Kong and Spain, each with at least four different language choices.

Most NTOs are aware of the need for users to be able to do further search for relevant information or knowledge. To function as a bridge and facilitate users' further search of related information or knowledge, almost all web sites use a hyperlink feature linking the user with related web sites. Links are usually made to NTO branches or overseas offices, industry partners such as travel agents, hotels, airlines or service-related industries such as restaurants, retailing or wholesaling, or other information sources such as an embassy that will provide general information about the country, immigration, weather, etc.

Search functions based on an NTO's own web site aim to help the user conveniently to locate certain information or knowledge from the current web site. As an NTO's web site gets more data intensive and multidimensional, this function appears to ease the anxiety of aimless searching and improve the efficiency of knowledge dissemination. The most commonly used search function is keyword search or site map search. Other search facilitation features such as list box or check box or drop box are commonly employed by most web sites.

Customer Knowledge Acquisition on-line

Customer knowledge is a very important ingredient that every NTO seeks, since it is vital in effectively marketing their destinations. It appears that almost all NTOs realize the importance of it and attempt to set up mechanisms to acquire knowledge about their customers. However, the level of sophistication varies. The twelve web sites utilize both direct and indirect mechanisms for customer knowledge acquisition. The direct approaches are usually through asking the user/customer to provide demographic or psychographic information by filling out structured forms. In return, customers benefit from incentives

such as free brochures or travel pamphlets, free on-line electronic card services, memberships or opportunities to express emotions about travel issues through feedback. Indirect customer knowledge acquisition is realized in more subtle ways such as through tracking customer on-line searching activities, or through aggregating unstructured information while providing facilities in the form of a search function, on-line chatting or bulletin board message posting.

Countries such as Spain, the United Kingdom, Austria, Hong Kong, Singapore, Switzerland and Australia offer direct on-line brochure or pamphlet request opportunities to customers. Hong Kong, Singapore, Switzerland and Australia are among countries that offer on-line E-card service. Some countries request only name and e-mail address, but some make the consumers fill out more information such as their home address. Another example could include free membership in a travel club. This serves as another means to collect data by offering sign-up benefits like receiving a weekly/monthly travel newsletter, best deals, last-minute discounts, etc. Some ask for the address or demographic information; some even put up a travel preference survey or travel history survey together with the sign-ups.

Feedback is another approach for inputs from customers. Customers can either give feedback to the design and content of the Web or feedback about the *pros* and *cons* of the travel products or services that they have received from the destination. Knowledge created from a feedback loop definitely helps in web site fine-tuning and travel products or services, improvement. For instance, a destination may realize through the feedback loop that travel information they provide is mismatched with what the targeted travelers are looking for. Therefore, they can make necessary adjustments or modification of their site accordingly. Eight out of twelve web sites provide feedback mechanism for consumers through special on-line programs such as 'write-to-us', 'tell us what you think', either using a free message style or using a structured check box survey format. Search functions, chat rooms and bulletin boards are some indirect means of getting feedback for the customers. By tracking down the search trail, the NTO can learn what the user is looking for. The chat room has been used to link people with similar interests and the exchange of ideas on-line in real time in many web sites of other industries. Since this is freestyle chatting, casual and subjective, it can provide NTOs a means to gather subjective opinions and feedback from the customers and identify opportunities for improvement. By monitoring what is happening in the chat room, the NTO will be able to gain greater insight into how people look at their destination. Bulletin boards provide mechanisms for people to post information, knowledge, opinions or questions for people to interact. The chat room is still not commonly used. Singapore, Switzerland and Spain have bulletin board mechanisms where people can post their messages. None of the twelve web sites provided a chat room mechanism.

Knowledge and Experiences Sharing on-line

Knowledge and experience sharing is an important component of on-line knowledge activity for NTOs. Parties involved in this activity are consumers, *i.e.*, travellers or potential travellers, and NTOs as travel experts. There are different types of message-

posting methods: post message with no feedback, post message with synchronous feedback, such as on-line chatting, and post message with asynchronous feedback such as is found with a bulletin board (Table 7.1).

TABLE 7.1 Mechanisms of Knowledge Sharing Activities on-line

<i>Parties involved</i>	<i>Post Message on Web (no feedback)</i>	<i>Post Message with Synchronous Feedback</i>	<i>Post Message with Asynchronous Feedback</i>
(Potential) Consumers	Consumer posts his/her experience to share with other (potential) consumers	On-line chat among other consumers	Bulletin board for (potential) consumers to interact
Expert (s)	Expert posts advice/suggestions to travellers	On-line chat with expert (s)	Expert-customer exchange box; general feedback from consumers regarding their preference, or complaints that need to be dealt with by NTO

Posting messages with no feedback can include mechanism for consumers to send messages on the web to share destination-specific travel experiences, either negative or positive, subjective evaluations of the experiences and recommendations or criticisms about the destination's travel products. This is a one-way knowledge/experience from the consumer, but all parties benefit from the process. For the contributors, it is a way to express emotions and experiences. For fellow consumers, it is useful peer evaluation about a destination. This is subjective knowledge sharing but also serves as a potentially convincing message. From a destination or NTO's perspective, it promotes and encourages knowledge and experience exchange among customers or between the customers and travel experts. The NTO could benefit from these 'conversations' or communications to gather consumers' preferences for target marketing. Even in the case of negative comments, they help NTOs identify possible problem areas either in products or services and look for means to improve. This is a way that an NTO can either passively observe through studying the messages posted by consumers or whether an active role can be taken to influence consumers' choices by posting travel suggestions. They can also actively engage in on-line discussion groups to exchange views with consumers, communicate with them and share their expertise and knowledge about the destination that may eventually influence them. In some web environments such as the European Union, where there is legal liability for information providers, this form of spontaneous feedback may be inhibited. Additionally, NTOs can provide tailor made services in itinerary planning. Finally, this is also a channel to improve a destination's image. By handling complaints or negative feedback, they may find ways to improve travel experiences. This knowledge/experience sharing process is an important marketing communication tool that NTOs cannot afford to neglect. It is a very good application of persuasive marketing communica-

tion theory which brings the consumer and the destination closer. Another important application is to employ this as a mechanism to develop on-line travel communities, eventually building up customer loyalty, and using it as a word-of-mouth marketing tool. This is a very efficient and cost-effective way to promote the destination (Hagel III and Armstrong 1997).

While posting messages without feedback seems to be the most popularly used approach for knowledge/experience sharing among the web sites, some NTO web sites use mechanisms similar to the travel expert's suggestion box. In this example travel experts actually share their expertise and knowledge about the destinations and provide one-way suggestions or ideas in itinerary planning, sometimes giving out general or situational advice. Among the twelve web sites studied across the world, ten have devices such as itinerary suggestions, travel tips, trip planners and answers to frequently asked questions, etc. Posting messages with synchronous feedback such as on-line chatting among consumers or on-line chatting with experts seems to be uncommon. Overall, there are few interactive mechanisms employed by NTO web sites. However, both Singapore and Switzerland's sites provide customers with limited expert interaction. Users can submit basic information such as when they plan to visit, length of stay, activity categories of interest, etc. Expert systems can, in real time, suggest a customized itinerary based on the customer's one-line input. This is an application of a travel expert system, which allows limited on-line two-way interaction between the customer and the expert.

Web Page Visit and Revisit

Another feature looked at in these web sites is the provision of extra benefits such as free on-line postcard services. Recreational uses of the medium, manifested in the form of non-directed search behaviour, can be an important benefit to consumers intrinsically motivated to use the medium (Hoffman *et al.*, 1995). Value latent benefits that are linked to free fun activities or services allow NTOs to benefit from customer information that comes from creating a critical mass. The variety of fun choices offered over the Web is not necessarily connected with knowledge activities. However, the entertaining effects created keep users on a particular site for a longer period and certainly play a positive and important role in encouraging visit and revisit. This in turn improves potential opportunities to enhance knowledge activities on the Web such as knowledge sharing and creation.

For example, the Hong Kong Tourist Association's web site has the largest collection of titbits to encourage visits and revisits. The list is long: games, video clips and virtual tours, interesting animations, downloadable wallpapers, screen savers, E-card where the user can personalize messages and customize personal animation designs, a Chinese horoscope, etc. Other countries that are at the forefront in providing value latent benefits include the British Tourist Authority and the Singapore Tourism Authority which offers free postcard services, a learning English programme and learning Singlish (English blended with local Singapore flavour).

The level of technology factor should be taken into consideration. A fully loaded home page with sophisticated or large database supported functions may significantly

increase the browsing waiting time and run the risk of losing the patience or interest of the intended user. This may become a major deterrent. A lot of technically sophisticated functions may appeal to computer enthusiasts or web masters; however, they may not be as desirable to the travellers or potential travellers. It is important to bear in mind that the design of a NTO web page should attempt to fulfil the organization's mission and strategic goals rather than winning a technical reward for sophisticated programming.

DISCUSSION

Knowledge Management as a Means to Achieve Effective Marketing Communication

The result of the exploratory study of NTOs' web site efforts in knowledge management indicates that there are different strategies to organize on-line knowledge activities. Figure 7.1 illustrates that each communication channel level leads to a different knowledge management process and marketing effect. As the level of the communication mechanism changes, the sophistication level of the knowledge management process is also altered, leading to higher intensity marketing effects. Marketing communications perform three functions: to inform, to remind and to persuade (Anderson and Rubin, 1986). The traditional marketing communications model for mass media, which took the form of one-to-many and was passive, is giving way to many-to-many and being interactive. This was supported by the Internet, through distributed computing and interactive multimedia (Hoffman *et al.* 1995). As the communication channel moves forward toward being many-to-many and interactive, knowledge activity moves from dissemination to active knowledge sharing while the marketing effect intensifies. This includes going from 'to inform' customers to 'educate/remind' and, ultimately, to 'influence/persuade'.

Knowledge Management as an Ecological System

The NTOs' knowledge activities on-line can take the form of multiple elements. Five key processes are identified and proposed: (1) knowledge dissemination; (2) knowledge acquisitions; (3) knowledge sharing; (4) knowledge embedding; and (5) knowledge utilization and embodying. Knowledge embedding refers to the process of the individual travellers or NTOs' acquired knowledge being absorbed and becoming part of the individual or organization's knowledge base. Knowledge embodying refers to the process of knowledge being utilized and represented in forms such as a decision, a new product or strategy. Figure 7.2 shows a layout of knowledge-related activities in a web environment for both NTOs and customers. For NTOs, the knowledge system is a self-enhancing system. Knowledge about customers that is embedded within the organization will help the process of embodying the knowledge in new marketing strategies, products and services, and the improved products and services can lead to improved knowledge dissemination.

The Web is an attractive medium for disseminating destination knowledge. It meets the knowledge demand of the customer and at the same time serves as a promotion channel to inform customers what a destination can offer. The ideal situation is that the web site is itself an informed action based on an NTO's understanding of what the destination can offer and the interests of the targeted audience. Different target markets may vary in

their activities of interest or travel products. The level of sophistication also makes a difference: first-time visitors or prospective travellers differ from repeat visitors in what they are looking for in a destination. An 'Expert's suggestion box provides a mechanism to deliver knowledge about a destination as well as influencing behaviour and destination choice: seasonal activities, highlight attractions, new development, suggestions for different demographic groups or segments or suggestions about what to see and do for new and repeat visitors. This is an excellent channel to provide a theme for a destination's products. Using a travel expert's knowledge about a destination and his or her authority makes it easier to convince and influence travellers. Based on persuasive communication theory, one of the key elements for effective marketing communication is the source factors (McCarville *et al.*, 1992). The most frequently studied source factors are the communicator's credibility and attractiveness. Persuasion is generally assumed to increase with credibility. This refers to the perceived expertise and trustworthiness of the communicator. As a governmental entity, NTOs have the advantage in being perceived as an authoritative source for destination information and knowledge and travel advice.

Knowledge acquisition on-line has two elements: travellers and potential travellers who seek travel/destination knowledge on the one hand and, on the other, the NTOs and the industry players who seek customer knowledge in terms of travel behaviour, travel motivation, travel destination decision-making process, expenditure patterns and travel product preferences. The interactive nature of the Web and the hypertext environment allow for deep, non-linear searches initiated and controlled by customers but traced and researched by NTOs. In communication theory, receiver factors, the characteristics of the receiver or audience to whom the message is addressed, cannot be ignored (Anderson and Rubin, 1986). Any attribute or combination of attributes of the receiver may provide a context contributing to the effectiveness of the message. As a result of receiver factors, a good understanding of the targeted markets would assist in delivering the destination marketing message. In facilitating the knowledge quest of the customer, the NTO creates an excellent opportunity to acquire customer knowledge.

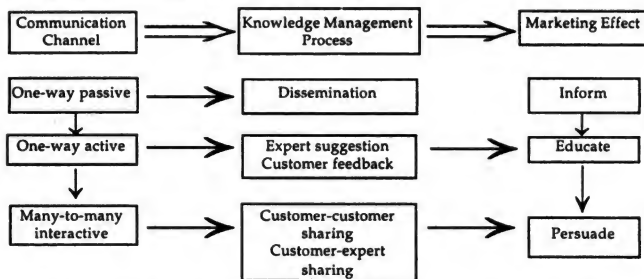


Figure 7.1 Levels of communication channel sophistication and performance intensity.

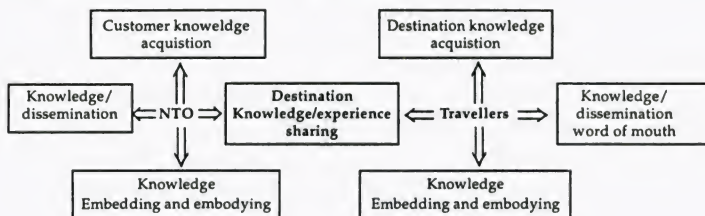


Figure 7.2 On-line knowledge activity layout



Figure 7.3 NTO ecological knowledge system

Knowledge sharing among customers and between customer and expert leads to several implications. The organization can use mechanisms such as chat rooms, discussion groups or an expert/customer exchange box as channels for word-of-mouth destination promotion. Of course, word of mouth can be positive or negative. However, the negative comments or experiences can be changed into positive inputs if the NTO takes action on what people are complaining about. These can also be channels for travel product and service enhancement after identifying and knowing better where the weaker linkages lie in the whole tourism system that brings negative experiences to the customer. The positive comments can lead to elaboration and further refinement. A third opportunity is a way to communicate with the customers and provide personalized services. Finally, this is an opportunity to build an on-line travellers community: a group of people with common interests gathered to share their experiences.

Knowledge embedding and embodying is another crucial part of knowledge management that has not been studied in depth. However, this is a link in the NTO's knowledge system that must be enhanced. It is a vital part of an ecological knowledge system as shown in Figure 7.3

From Embedded to Embodied Knowledge: the New Focus on Knowledge Management in Product Development

Knowledge management is not an end in itself but a means to fulfil multiple goals. One goal is to assimilate on-line customer knowledge, embed the knowledge into travel product planners and travel marketers and ultimately embody them in the form of new or enhanced travel products/services or marketing programmes. Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) pointed out the major strategy for Japanese companies such as Honda to bring about continuous innovation and to stay competitive is their active implementation of a knowledge input—output model. These companies have continually turned to their suppliers, customers, distributors, government agencies and even competitors for new insights. What is unique about the way these companies bring about continuous innovation is the link between the outside and the inside. Knowledge that is accumulated from the outside is shared widely within the organization, stored as part of the company's knowledge based and utilized by those engaged in developing a new technologies and products. A conversion process takes place—from outside to inside and back outside again in the form of new products, services, systems or targeted segments. This is exactly the ecological knowledge model that would benefit NTOs: to anticipate change constantly, take informed action and come up with innovations—a new technology, a new product or service design, a new marketing approach, a new form of distribution or a new way of servicing customers. The knowledge embedding and embodying process is an issue that relates to how NTOs should create an ecological environment where knowledge sharing and creation can be well facilitated, thus bringing out increased productivity and efficiency.

The knowledge input—output model applies to consumers as well. Application, a process of knowledge embedding and embodying, also takes place. People are no longer passive receivers of information and knowledge; this makes interactive features important. Travellers usually act on the information or knowledge presented to them, integrating it and constructing interpretations of their own. After assimilating outside knowledge (embedding), the consumer would be engaged in forming his or her own opinions, drawing inferences and making decisions on issues such as preferred travel plans (embodying).

From one-to-many to one-to-one: knowledge activities as a means to relationship marketing

Another important implication for the NTO is that the on-line knowledge environment provides a natural channel for one-to-one relationship marketing, a preferred mode and a continuing trend in marketing. The Web as a medium for marketing communications has made one-to-one marketing possible and plausible due to its interactive nature and the tremendous growth of the Internet and particularly the WWW. This has lead to a critical mass of consumers (Hoffman *et al.*, 1995).

Newgroups, electronic bulletin boards and chat rooms are important services on the Internet that allow travellers to research travel products and destinations in a less formal medium. That focus can be a particular destination or a given type of travel such

as ecotourism or cultural tourism. One characteristic unique to chat rooms is that the information exchange is in real time. Experts on travel may be invited into chat rooms to share their subjective expertise on a given topic or destination. Users can send requests to them and receive responses on-line, as if chatting. The on-line nature of chat rooms is closer to interacting with people personally and frequent side conversations bring together people with like interests. General travellers using the services can expect the shared knowledge to be more subjective and *ad hoc*, yet valuable. All three are mechanisms for building virtual travel communities. According to Hagel III and Armstrong (1997), virtual communities can be highly effective at stimulating word of mouth allowing a company to leverage its most effective sales force: its own customers. Virtual communities are the mechanism that can bring the vision of relationship-based, individually tailored marketing to reality. This capability of the medium offers unprecedented opportunities to tailor communications precisely to individual customers.

By engaging travellers in a personal relationship with the NTO and helping to build up on-line travellers communities, on-line knowledge sharing activities can serve as important and effective means to facilitate relationship marketing that takes tourism organizations into the twenty-first century.

8

Destination Management: Co-operative Marketing, a Case Study of the Port Douglas Brand

Introduction

This chapter addresses the question of how operators and destination authorities work within a destination region, illustrating how the problems resulting from different geographic scales and the objectives of business units and government agencies can be tackled through co-operative marketing within a strong destination image. The market positioning of Tropical North Queensland (TNQ) provides the basis for strategies to develop tourism opportunities and is a framework for promotion by local business and communities. The State Tourist Organization (TQ-Tourism Queensland) is thereby providing a leadership role as the overall manager of this process.

Destination marketing is increasingly demanding with rising customer expectations and intensifying competition between destinations and between tourism and alternative purchases. In response, more sophisticated marketing is used including product development (packaging of holidays), enhanced promotional imagery and targeting of specific market segments. However, in tourism because of the fragmented nature of the 'product', in order to be effective the destination structure (the network of business relationships) itself requires enhancement. The development of cohesive destination image and the development of cohesive destination organizations go hand in hand.

The traditional approach to destination management strategy (both in terms of development and marketing) has been derived from the literature on organizational strategy. However, there is a fundamental weakness in an approach to destination management which relies on the assumption of strong leadership and clear top-down decisions to which all participants adhere (at least in the short-term). Destinations are

conglomerates of attractions, operators and agencies which each have individual objectives. Often these are in direct conflict, and managers may regard competition with local organizations as their main policy concern, resulting in attempts to position themselves uniquely in the market place and in price competition. In contrast to the classical organizational strategy paradigm of clarity and consensus based on a rational process of analysis, destinations experience tension between operators, they seldom have strong leadership and lack cohesion in the way in which the area promotes its image externally.

Within this setting, the following case study examines an image repositioning study of two hotels in Port Douglas, Tropical North Queensland. The development of these hotel positions was done in relation to the destination images of Port Douglas and Tropical North Queensland. The case presents a study of the domestic (Australian) market, illustrating how the optimization of destination image is related to enhancements in destination organization.

This chapter considers the policy implications of the findings for State Tourist Organizations and for operators involved in destination image management and discusses the need for further research into collaboration in the management of destinations.

Case Setting

Tourism in Queensland is an important part of the state economy with an overall contribution of tourism of Gross State Product (GSP) of around 10 per cent in 1997. Tourism Queensland (previously the Queensland Tourist and Travel Corporation (QTTT)) is a Queensland Government Owned Enterprise. Its role is defined by an Act of Parliament as 'promotion of Queensland as a Tourist Destination.' As a result of its marketing activity, Queensland has very strong, positive perceptions in the domestic (Australian) market as a destination offering sun, fun, warmth, activity and friendliness.

In 1995, changing consumer buying behaviours and sophisticated competitor promotional campaigns led to a pay approach to Queensland's tourism marketing. After a review of the marketing strategy, TQ shifted from the promotion of Queensland with one destination image to the development of a portfolio of 'destinational images.' It focused promotion to Australian markets on its main destination hubs. This was especially important for newer destinations such as Tropical North Queensland based in Cairns with its World Heritage Daintree rainforest and Great Barrier Reef attractions.

By branding Queensland's five developed destinations, TQ has taken a sophisticated consumer goods approach to tourism marketing—the first time such an approach has been applied to tourism marketing in Australia. The process involved extensive market research and industry consultation at every stage. All organizations undertaking destination marketing were involved, including the Far North Queensland Promotion Bureau, Tourism Queensland, the Australian Tourist Commission (ATC) and industry operators.

The process involved the following steps:

- Market research (market audit, focus groups and in-depth interviews)
- Identification of target markets

- Definition of a distinctive positioning for each brand.
- Development of a joint marketing strategy
- Development of appropriate communication messages for the new creative campaign.

The resulting 'destination image' provides the basis for co-ordination of promotional activities for each destination. TQ in taking a co-ordination role has also been expected to develop advertising creative for particular campaigns. The current strategy is to develop destination image advertising and not directly promote individual operators. TQ does, however, contribute to the individual operator price leader advertising by developing brand reinforcement messages that tie into stand-alone advertising by operators. The positioning was developed to link to that of Australia developed by the Australian Tourism Commission.

Thus a multi level co-ordinated approach to destination image development at destination, state and national level has been developed. This case study describes how this multi level approach was extended to sub-destinations and individual operators.

The Strategic Promotion of Destination Areas

Governments have increasingly recognized the economic significance of tourism and its role as a tool for regional development (Wanhill, 1999). One consequence of this has been the active development and promotion of towns, regions and countries, as if they were tourism place-products (Kotler *et al.* 1993). Hall (1994) has highlighted the need for more research into the political and administrative dimensions of tourism, and Wilkinson (1997, p. 13) states that 'little attention has been paid in the tourism literature to the analysis of tourism policy and its subsequent implementation.' A key issue arising from the complex range of destination attractions and services is the way in which the destination is presented to visitors. It is not 'the totality of all possible or potential elements ... it is a packaged selection. If it is the package that is the product then the two basic questions of definition and identification concern the nature of this packaging process and two performs it' (Ashwood and Voogd, 1994, pp. 5-19). They note that the packaging role is performed either by tour operators or government agencies.

It is generally assumed in the tourism literature that National or State Tourist Organizations exercising quasi-governmental powers and deploying a budget funded at least in part from public sources should take the initiative in setting strategy for a destination area. However, attempts to manage destinations based on organizational models of strategic thinking and action are inadequate. The heart of the problem for destinations is their complex nature, resulting in policy/implementation conflicts between operators. Typically, the destination experience for visitors comprises the products of a wide range of organizations of differing scales and levels of business sophistication presented within a general ambience derived from a combination of the area's primary attractions and the ways in which tourists perceive its image (Laws, 1995). Not only are destinations complex, but they lack the formal relationship frameworks between operational departments which enable large enterprises to act consensually. Approaches to strategic management differ on two dimensions, the outcomes of the strategy (profit

maximizing or pluralistic) and the processes by which strategy is made (deliberate contrast with emergent styles).

Crompton (1979) defined vacation destination images as being 'the sum of beliefs, ideas and impressions that a person has of a destination.' The crucial role of image in marketing strategies for destinations has been noted in many studies (Bramwell and Rawding, 1996; Chon, 1990; Echtner and Ritchie, 1993; Goodall, 1998; Illiechew *et al.*, 1997; Mayo, 1973). A recent review of the literature on destination image confirms it as a critical component in the traveller's destination selection process (Balgolu, 1997).

Dellaert *et al.*, (1998, p. 314) note that most studies of travel decisions are concerned with destination choices. 'In some studies, this element is combined with decision-making processes.' They comment that the two main factors investigated are the activities that may influence consumer choice, and the attributes of the destination itself, but note also that traveller characteristics can influence travel choices and report their findings that 'more attention might be paid to interrelate tourists' choices of various components of travel decision-making, which jointly affect tourists' ultimate travel choices.'

Packaging the Destination Concept

The effectiveness of image management techniques depends on an understanding of potential visitors' interests in and attitudes towards the holiday destination. Appropriate images can establish a meaningful position for the destination in the minds of selected segments of the public as being a place which is different from other destinations offering similar primary attractions (Ahmed, 1994). The significance of imagery in tourism marketing has been summed up by Buck (1993, p. 179): 'Tourism is an industry based on imagery; its overriding concern is to construct, through multiple representations of paradise, an imagery (of the destination) that entices the outsider to place himself or herself into the symbol-defined space.'

Tourist destinations can be differentiated by mapping the structure of destination images in perceptual space, recognizing that 'places evoke all sorts of emotional experiences', (Walmesley and Young, 1993, p. 65). Selecting which aspects of a specific destination to feature in the market place where tourists choose their holiday destination depends on two steps:

- identifying the destination's special advantages (its attributes); and
- understanding how to entice those visitors which the destination hopes to attract (its benefits).

The second point is critical. Lack of knowledge of the destination's appeal from potential visitors' perspectives is an impediment to development and implementation of a strategic view of a destination's image. A further impediment is that the tourist sector at destinations is characterized by fragmentation and a preponderance of small businesses. Gunn (1988, p. 108) argues that resorts are 'complexes providing a variety of recreations and social settings at one location.' Some of the constituent businesses do not even regard themselves as operating within the tourism sector, while many trade seasonally. This can lead to a lack of specific functional knowledge within a destination, a divergence of aims

between the public and commercial sectors and a short-term planning horizon which in part is driven by public sector, twelve-monthly budgeting cycles, but also by the tactical operating horizon of small businesses (Athiyaman, 1995). The lack of direct involvement by destination marketing bodies in the area's products and the marketing mixes which they use has been noted as a common problem by McKercher (1995).

The difficulties of co-ordination and control have the potential to undermine a strategic approach to marketing based on destination branding because campaigns can be undertaken by a variety of tourist businesses with no consultation or co-ordination on the prevailing message or the destination values being promoted. As a result of their structural complexity there are relatively few destinations in which one major commercial organization can take this leadership role. Furthermore, most tourist businesses lack the resources required for extensive mass marketing, and those which can afford to, often promote a variety of destinations as they are members of international chains or are domiciled in origin markets. Examples include hotel chains and airlines, which have significant power in their market places; their communications emphasise the features of their services, with local destination features being according a secondary role. Furthermore, a number of major tourism organizations may promote a particular destination, but emphasizing different or even conflicting place attributes. Laws (1991) has shown how one Hawaiian island was variously promoted as 'the Volcano Island', 'the Orchid Island' and 'the Big Island' one time despite the efforts of the Hawaii Visitor Bureau to give each of the islands a unique and clear brand image within the image of the State of Hawaii.

Destination branding

The purpose of branding is to differentiate the goods or services of one seller or group of sellers from those of competitors (Kotler *et al.*, 1993). Brand management is increasingly recognized as a strategic management tool rather than as an abstract concept (Lawson and Balakrishnan, 1998). Kim and Chung (1997, p. 366) have argued that the two key variables in the success of global brands are brand popularity and country image. 'Brands originating from a particular country seem to create intangible assets or liabilities that are shared by those brands originating from the same country.' In the context of destination and hotel co-marketing, this point might have relevance in that the perceived attributes of the place are the broad context for motivations towards staying in a particular property in that destination.

Prichard and Morgan (1998, p. 147) note a general agreement that branding can be applied to tourist destinations, but comment that there is 'less certainty about how the concept translates into practical marketing activity. . . destination managers face three unique challenges in (branding) initiatives: a lack of control over the total marketing mix; relatively limited budgets and political considerations.'

The essential advantage of branding is that it creates a favourable position for the destination and its integral products, enabling clients to distinguish it from competitors on attributes which are significant to their motivations. This can be expressed as the destination's brand personality: branding provides a way of building an emotional link

between product and consumer, appealing to holiday makers' self-image and lifestyle concepts. Destination branding is a process that can be likened generically to destination image management, requiring development of a destination image that is well positioned in relationship to the needs and wants of the target market, the image of competitor destinations and of course the deliverable attributes of the destination.

Market positioning in turn enables the destination organization to develop a detailed marketing mix for its product, based on research to establish the visitor's buying behaviour and alternative destinations in the visitor's consideration set. Brand advantage is obtained by image building which emphasizes specific benefits and contributes to an overall impression of one brand's superiority. The goal is to position a brand in the visitor's mind as occupying a unique and desirable market niche. The imagery used to promote the destination has to be consistent with the self-image of the target customers: to become branded, a place must offer added values which match tourists' needs closely and are different from those promoted by competitors (De Chernatony and McDonald, 1992).

Branding is carried out to influence the consumer's choice. Peterman (1997) found that the desire to achieve goals guides people's approach to acquiring information. Van Raaij and Francken (1984) introduced a generic 'vacation sequence' model in which five steps (generic decision, information acquisition, decision-making, vacation activities and satisfaction or complaints) provide the framework for consumer choice and behaviour. Woodside and Sherrell (1977) looked at the sets of alternative products consumers consider along a spectrum from evoked to inert. Van Raaij (1986; p. 7) argued that consumers can be classified along a number of dimensions according to their behaviours to 'discover a natural grouping of tourists into segments.' The purposes are essentially operational, that is, to identify how to influence that segment's behaviour. Jenkins (1978) postulated that consumers first select the destination and then choose a hotel. The present study confirms this pattern in holiday decision-making, and investigates how the two decisions are linked.

Collaboration in Destination Marketing

Destinations generally operate under a co-ordinating body to which only some of the local tourism operators belong, raising the issue of leadership in promoting destination areas through marketing partnerships, as noted above. Given the variety of businesses operating from a particular destination, and the geographic dispersion of source markets, co-operative marketing arrangements are quite common. Palmer (1998) has observed that these occur at various levels from local to national, or supranational. Nevertheless, the preponderance of small businesses in resorts and the diversity of objectives of the larger organizations is an impediment to the implementation of strategic destination marketing.

Interest in the collaborative relationships between organizations operating in a defined market place is increasing, exemplified by theories of relationship marketing (McKenna, 1994), and organizational networking (Gummesson, 1995). These approaches have been applied to the functioning tourist destinations (Laws, 1997; Poon, 1993). Poon advocated new forms of tourism based on an understanding of the contribution which various types of business can make to the tourism value chain. She argued that strategic alliances can lead to improvements in productivity and profits.

It has been noted that, in many mature destinations, the authorities are taking proactive decisions about their product and market portfolios. This involves choosing facilities to offer, anticipating the demands and changing tastes of their visitors and attempting to influence the nature of their experiences (Laws and Cooper, 1998). This proactive approach contrasts to the often *ad hoc*, opportunistic entrepreneurial responses which characterized the early development of many resorts (Laws, 1995). A strategic approach has become increasingly common where decisions are taken in terms of the direction of the product offering and the markets to target. Strategic market planning provides an effective framework for the consideration of these issues, while also providing clear advantages for resorts (Cooper, 1995). 'The process of goal setting provides a common-sense of ownership and direction for the many stakeholders in the resort, whilst at the same time sharpening the guiding objectives. The coherence provided by the approach provides a framework for joint initiatives between the commercial and public sectors and demands the clear identification of roles and responsibilities' (Laws and Cooper, 1998, p. 341).

A Conceptualization of Co-operative Destination and Hotel Marketing

The research question addressed in this chapter is how several operators can co-operate in their marketing under one brand. Co-branding can 'command more power through customer awareness...than a single brand name operation' (Boone, 1997, p. 34). Her study of hotels which operate a leased or franchised restaurant indicated that customers are more likely to choose a familiar restaurant over one that is unknown, and that this has resulted in increased use of hotel restaurants once they are operated as franchises. In the context of the present research, this suggests that hotels located within a destination might benefit by linking their advertising imagery to the destination brand strengths.

Figure 8.1 conceptualizes the co-operative marketing approaches by operators and destination authorities. The shaded area, representing the range of clients which the destination authorities seek to attract, is broken into four notional motivational clusters or segments who will each be accessed using specialized appeals and media. The model indicates that operator A will seek to focus its advertising and use imagery attractive to only two market segments, while operator B will concentrate its resources on a narrower range of motivations.

1. Selected segments targeted by operator A
2. Segments targeted by operator B

Branding, imagery, positioning, market segmentation, target marketing and marketing mix are mutually dependent management decisions, but in typical destinations these decisions are taken independently by the managers of different organizations based on their own operating criteria. It is important to note, however, that these organizations share benefits from the attributes of the place being marketed, the expectations raised in potential clients by marketing activities and the experiences of visitors attracted to the place. Research to establish brand strategies for destinations is therefore interactive, and

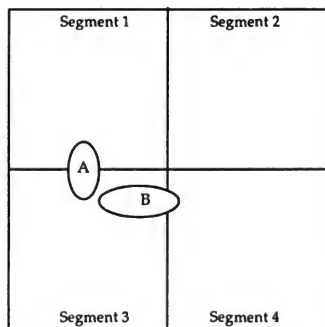


Figure 8.1 Collaborative destination and operator marketing

Note: Shaded area: a destination's four main client segments each targeted by the destination authority.

Developing a Destination Image for Queensland's Tourist Regions

Tourism Queensland (TQ) has recently begun to promote five key destination areas of Queensland to visitors as distinctive destinations. This strategy was initiated in response to the emergence of a number of regions of Queensland as tourist nodes, each with distinctive destination attributes, target markets and a sufficiently developed tourist industry to warrant a portfolio (product line) approach to their management as destinations. These reflect the diversity and scale of Queensland, and translate into different destination image, target market, positioning and promotional programmes for each destination, summarized in Table 8.1.

TQ uses a variety of segmentation techniques (both *a priori* and *post hoc*) in developing an understanding of target markets and destination positioning and image. The *a priori* scheme is based on a combination of six household life cycle and income segments for each origin market (local, 400 km drive, interstate, short-haul and long-haul international). The rationale for this approach is that it can be applied readily to each destination and it has the advantage that the findings can easily be understood by the destination stakeholders. As with most demographic-based segmentation systems, however, these forms of segmentation tend to be limited when applied to marketing tourism destinations, since they take no account of the range of needs and motivations possible within each derived group.

TABLE 8.1 Queensland Tourist Destinations

<i>Destinations</i>	<i>Positioning elements</i>	<i>Brand personality</i>	<i>% domestic visitors</i>
Tropical North Queensland (TNQ)	Great Barrier Reef and tropical rainforest	Relaxed, friendly, natural, adventurous, active	57
Brisbane	Stimulating subtropical capital city experience	Plenty to see and do, relaxed fresh outdoors	75
Gold Coast	Beach and excitement/nightlife, entertainment	Exciting, fast-paced, fun	70
Sunshine Coast	Beach and relaxation	Relaxed, simple, the way things used to be	90
Whitsundays	Aquatic playground	Relaxed, fresh, friendly, vibrant, natural	75

Source: QTTC Brand and Advertising Style Manuals, 1998

Tropical North Queensland as a Tourist Destination

Tropical North Queensland (TNQ) offers an impressive array of attractions and, as well as being one of Australia's prime domestic destinations, it is also rapidly establishing itself as a major international destination area. The Queensland Visitor Survey (QTTC, 1997) reported that the TNQ area received a total of 1,408,000 overnight visitors staying in commercial accommodation. Of these 32 per cent were from Queensland, 25 per cent were from other Australian states and 43 per cent were from overseas. The major international markets are Japan, Germany and the United Kingdom.

The development of an agreed brand and destination image for TNQ provides an important reference point for tourism development and promotion by local businesses and communities. In facilitating this destination image development, the TQ is functioning in a leadership role and this raises the question of how operators work co-operatively to create this brand in TNQ. Within TNQ there are two major tourism nodes (Figure 8.2). Cairns City functions as a transport hub and accommodation centre while surrounding beach areas provide a tropical resort setting.

Summary of the Port Douglas Research

Port Douglas, located an hour north of Cairns by road, is a tropical resort town close to the World Heritage listed Daintree Rainforest, and it is also an access point for the Great Barrier Reef. Port Douglas's image has been developed around the relaxed tropical nature-based experiences it offers. Port Douglas has developed rapidly over the past fifteen years and now features several major hotels. This raises the issue of how several operators can co-operate within a defined areas, and thus gain synergies in the competitive market place for holidays. The impetus to this research occurred when the two hotel properties in Port Douglas were brought together under the umbrella of one international hotel marketing organization. The objective of the research was to examine the relationship

between these hotels' marketing images and that of the overall destination image developed for TNQ by Tourism Queensland.

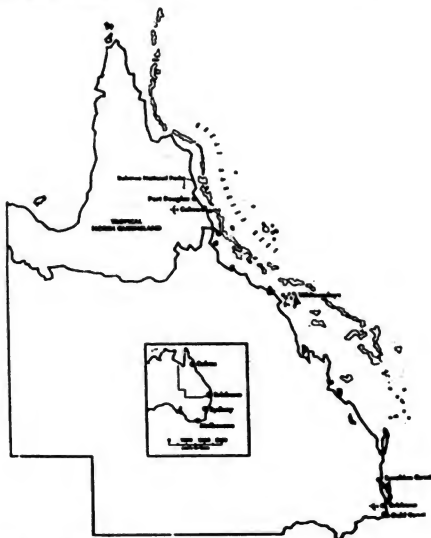


Figure 8.2 The location of Queensland's five key destination areas

The terms 'destination' and 'resort' are both sometimes used for geographic areas, but are also used to describe localized developments. 'Resort' can mean an established town which has a significant range of tourist facilities (NEDO/Tourism Society, 1992) or a region within which several holiday centres are located (Inskeep and Kallenbergher, 1992). Gunn (1988) has defined resorts as 'complexes providing a variety of recreations and social settings at one location.' Individual hotels sometimes promote themselves as self-contained resorts. In this chapter, the two properties are referred to as Hotel A and Hotel B. Hotel A is more expensive, and offers the upmarket ambience of a self-contained resort hotel. Hotel B also occupies landscaped grounds but is more intensively built-up and provides a single buffet catering outlet in contrast to the variety of more intimate and stylish restaurants in Hotel A. Thus, the two properties attract somewhat different client groups.

Research Design

The research programme was multi-stage and involved three separate components. Since the overall purpose of the project was to examine the relationship between Tropical North Queensland, constituent tourist areas within the region (Cairns, Northern Beaches and Port Douglas) and accommodation within each area, the methodology was designed to be able to compare key issues across the various levels within the region by developing similar question and analysis formats. The research process, therefore, moved from detailed qualitative interviews to wider structured questionnaire research, and from a focus on the particular Port Douglas resort hotels to a wider regional study.

The first stage of the programme incorporated 70 qualitative interviews with guests at the two hotels. Australian-resident guests were approached randomly *via* the resorts' front office database, a letter from the General Manager and a follow-up telephone call from the researcher. The interviews took the form of 30-minute executive interviews and 90-minute focus groups, and were used to examine in detail issues of decision-making, reasons for choosing the destination and accommodation, overall attitudes towards vacations and motivation and imagery.

The semi-structured nature of qualitative interviewing allowed the use of indirect (projective) questioning, including mapping, creative pictorial techniques and repertory grid techniques to examine motivations and expectations (Durgee, 1986; Kelly, 1955; Reilley, 1990; Young 1995). The information generated by this stage of the research was the basis for formulating a structured questionnaire for subsequent research. It also enabled TQ and the research partners to start to identify motivational groups, and devise appropriate advertising strategies as discussed below.

The findings of the executive interviews and focus groups were then quantified among a sample of 220 guests. Guests completing this questionnaire were again selected randomly from resort records. The third component of the research consisted of face-to-face interviews with 600 Australian visitors to Tropical North Queensland. This questionnaire included items common to those asked in the resort survey in order to enable comparisons of data to be made. Interviewing for this stage was conducted equally between the three main TNQ holiday centres of Cairns, the Northern Beaches and Port Douglas.

GENERAL FINDINGS

Profile of guests interviewed

The two hotels have different clienteles and as a result the demographics and the types of holiday chosen differ. The methodology described above enabled comparison of the profiles, needs, attitudes and behaviours of guests in both hotels with other visitors to Port Douglas and to the region overall. In comparison to regional visitors, hotel guests are more likely to be:

- older couples where the children have left home rather than families with children;

- higher occupational groups, although both resorts also show a higher proportion of retail and service workers as well.

Hotel A has a higher proportion of those living than B, and Hotel B has a higher proportion of the upper white occupational group. The profile of all visitors to the region tends towards people travelling (and living) singly rather than as a family and to be in manual and middle managerial/administrative occupational groups. The profile of people staying in Port Douglas tends to be closer to that of the region overall than to either of the hotels, with a high proportion of families staying in rental units in the Port Douglas area.

Compared to Port Douglas and Tropical North Queensland, both hotels have a lower proportion of people who are staying in the region longer than a week. The shorter length of stay reflects the higher standard of accommodation and costs of the hotels, rather than the location of stay. Hotel guests are also more dependent upon air travel into the region and upon coach services while in the region. They are more likely to be first-time visitors to the region. Almost all those staying at the two hotels flew to the destination, reflecting the distance from their homes. (Cairns, the nearest airport is a three and a half hour flight from Melbourne). Almost none of the hotel guests toured the area by car, preferring coach tours, or using rented bicycles to get around Port Douglas.

SPECIFIC FINDINGS

The Development of Motivational Groups

Qualitative research was used to establish why resort guests had decided to visit Tropical North Queensland on vacation and the decision-making process for so doing. A wide range of reasons emerged, and were measured quantitatively in the hotel guest self-completion questionnaires and the overall TNQ visitor study (Table 8.2). From the analysis of these specific motivations, four major motivational groupings were identified. These motivational groups are described in Table 8.3, but it should be noted that membership of one group does not necessarily preclude leanings towards another—they represent visitor tendencies rather than totally separate groups.

The four motivational segments were derived from a number of stages throughout the research process. Firstly, at the 'qualitative' stage, guests and visitors were asked directly their reasons for taking a vacation and the factors on which they distinguished between competitive destinations and different vacation styles. These verbatim comments were then used as the basis for nineteen statements which the sample of resort guests (217 interviews) and the broader sample of visitors to the region (600 interviews divided equally between Cairns, the Northern Beaches and Port Douglas) were asked to rate on a five-point scale (running from 'Very Important' to 'Not at all Important'). Cluster analysis was then used to establish the four major tendencies. The characteristics of each group is best represented through their motivational ratings. In Table 8.2, mean scores are shown where +2.5 is equivalent to a rating of 'Very Important' and -2.5 is equivalent to a rating of 'Not at all important.'

TABLE 8.2 Motivations for TNQ Visitors

<i>Motivation factor;</i>	<i>Self-directed</i>	<i>Image-directed</i>	<i>Activity-directed</i>	<i>Other-directed</i>
To relax	2.13	1.76	1.41	1.55
To spend time with my partner	1.47	0.89	0.0	0.90
To visit new places	1.38	1.76	1.71	1.60
To celebrate a special event or anniversary	-0.55	-1.25	-1.10	-0.60
To exercise my choice to do nothing	1.18	0.77	-0.19	1.05
To take the chance to think things over	0.30	-0.18	-0.23	0.45
To be pampered and waited on	0.07	-0.66	-1.09	-0.10
To indulge my senses	0.91	0.40	0.63	1.10
To feel fitter and healthier	0.77	0.52	0.51	1.35
To live life at a different pace	1.44	1.66	1.32	1.80
To feel warmer	1.25	1.63	0.69	2.20
To be active	0.53	0.53	1.90	0.78
To get close to nature	0.65	0.86	1.58	1.45
To travel as far north as possible	-0.19	-0.18	0.38	0.55
To be challenged	-0.46	-0.66	0.85	-0.03
To find out new things	0.41	0.64	2.10	1.02
To see somewhere that people have told me about	0.58	0.88	0.88	2.25
To visit a unique attraction	1.10	1.37	2.24	2.00
To have experiences I can tell other people about	0.83	1.13	1.41	2.05

Destination and Hotel Choice Considered

The current research found a high degree of consistency in visitor decision-making processes which following five stages:

1. the overall length, style, price and 'type' of vacation.
2. overall destinational attributes likely to fulfil the criteria at (1.).
3. collection of advice/information to complement destinations known at (2.).
4. consideration of different areas within regions.
5. consideration of different accommodation options.

TABLE 8.3 Motivational Groups

<i>Motivational group</i>	<i>Summary description</i>	<i>Marketing implications</i>
Activity-focused	This group goes on vacation and to particular destinations with clear objectives of undertaking particular activities or visiting specific locations, for example, observing coral on the Reef or viewing flora and fauna in the rainforests. The appeal of a holiday for them is marked by achievement and personal growth. This group tends to be well-informed, strong vacation planners and goal-focused.	Focus on detailed information in support of their particular interest, possibly using specialist media.
Image-focused	This group is motivated by general regional attributes since the primary motivation is to go somewhere different from home. They look for a different climate, different environments and lifestyles rather than specific activities. They are likely to consider a wide range of vacations since their criteria for choice is fairly broad.	They rarely have specific reasons for choice and are the group most amenable to overall regional imagery and marketing.
Other people focused	Members of this group choose their vacation based on what they have been told by other people. A primary motivation for them is then to relay back to the reference group their own experiences. In a sense this group might be referred to as 'snobs' although they occur across the range of socio economic and income groups.	Marketing needs to generate the sense of a destination as 'the place to be.' They are particularly excited, for example, by the visits of President Clinton and various movie stars to Port Douglas.
Self-focused	For this group, a vacation destination is the backdrop to the fulfilment of their own needs and the expression of their own feelings. They may participate in specific activities but their motivations are based on what the experience means for them and what it can do for them (rather than on more outer-focused motivations of appreciation or learning). Elements of indulgence, service, relaxing and doing nothing, or being looked after are therefore strong among this group and the general resort promise is therefore of greatest appeal to this group.	Many places can offer them what they are looking for. Regional imagery and specific accommodation promises need to work in tandem to reassure them about all elements of their vacation.

However, it should be noted that the process followed is not always sequential. Consumer advertising by retailers may start visitors at stage 5 through a direct (usually price-based) promotion for accommodation; co-operative advertising may also move them to stage 5 by linking values at stage 2 to needs at stage 1.

One of the most important findings of the research was the high proportion of guests at the resort hotels who had considered alternative destinations and other accommodation within TNQ as part of their decision process. This group includes 70 per cent of Hotel A guests and 63 per cent of Hotel B guests. This places strong emphasis on understanding the decision-making process to ensure that the chances of 'losing' visitors is minimized. Kelly grid techniques were used to differentiate competitor destinations. This technique was considered appropriate to achieve understanding of the process since it identified the overall competitive context of TNQ and Port Douglas, the motivations which visitors seek to fulfil and the way in which different destination and holiday experiences are distinguished and clustered by visitors to establish segments in the market place.

Research into the process of selecting between regions and destinations and the consequent 'clustering' of destinations was based on a number of key bipolar criteria which emerged as significant during the first phase of the project:

- international *versus* Australian
- warm weather *versus* colder/temperate weather
- destinations requiring effort ('cultural' or sightseeing destinations) *versus* destinations not requiring effort (beach holidays)
- natural destinations *versus* 'developed' destinations.

The sets of alternative destinations (Woodside and Sherrell, 1977), considered by guests varied, depending on their key holiday motivations as indicated in Table 8.4.

Given the importance of imagery to marketing and advertising, image perception was analysed for different locations. Figure 8.3 presents the image components for all visitors to the region mapped onto the four motivational clusters discussed above. All four groupings share a common and central motivation for relaxation, but they differ in the specific elements of their motivations. Similar image maps were constructed for Hotel A and Hotel B guests, Port Douglas visitors not staying in the resort hotels and regional visitors staying in other areas such as Cairns and Northern Beaches. This enabled the evaluation of the extent to which the contribution of 'components' to an image of the region differed for visitors to different locations. For example, the research indicates that, among visitors staying in four or five star resort accommodation, the image of the region as a whole is less strong than the image presented by the hotel. The seclusion which attracts guests to Hotels A and B is also a feature of the Port Douglas area; the resort style of hotel vacation may be seen as an end in itself when compared to visitors using lower-grade accommodation as a 'jumping off point for access to the region as a whole.

expectations. Their research indicated a strong case for co-operative advertising based on consumers' needs for a mix of general information (about the attributes of the region as a whole) and accommodation-specific information. The fact that almost 75 per cent of resort guests had considered an alternative destination area indicates the importance of effective regional branding to be reinforced by information on specific accommodation suited to target markets.

The conceptual model presented earlier in this chapter (Figure 8.1) has been developed and applied to the Port Douglas case study. Figure 8.4 presents a positioning model based on plotting the current relative positions of the two hotels (A and B) and the destination (X). The corners of the model are formed from the four motivational groups identified in this research. Thus, the position of a hotel indicates the relative percentages of each of the four segments in its clientele. Also shown on this diagram are the target 'potential' groups for each hotel (A1 and B1). These groups have been drawn from the regional survey and they include, for each hotel, Australian visitors staying elsewhere in Tropical North Queensland who are financially capable of affording the hotel, who are already staying in a similar standard of accommodation, who are disposed to return to the region and who plan their accommodation in advance. Based on these criteria, the 'potential' market for Hotel A is around 18 per cent of TNQ visitors and that for Hotel B somewhat less at 15 per cent.

The figure should be read as indicative; however, it illustrates that in the current situation both hotels occupy similar spaces and away from the overall position of the region (X). Their primary appeal is based on 'self-directed' and 'image-directed' components in contrast to the region overall which appeals more broadly to a mix of motivations, in particular that for specific activities. This is perhaps to be expected of a situation where the hotels have been differentiated historically on the basis of price alone while still appealing to the 'resort market' (where the motivation to stay is based on each hotel's separateness from the surrounding region). The analysis of future target groups (A1 for hotel A and B1 for hotel B) indicates that, to maximize their potential to draw new markets, the following positioning steps needs to be taken:

- to position themselves further from each other.

In the case of A this means developing imagery based more on general regional attributes while continuing to appeal to images of self-fulfilment and actualization; for B this means a greater focus on specific activities which can be conducted from the resort.

- to position themselves closer to the region overall, as resorts within the region rather than separate from it.

While the impact upon the region overall cannot be measured by this research, it can be hypothesized that, if the hotels were to pursue directions A1 and B1, this would pull the region overall closer to the midway point between the new resort positionings.

The research outlined here led to recommendations that future collaborative advertising campaigns undertaken jointly between TQ and the hotel group should feature pictures of the beach, and the town centre, with supporting imagery conveying feelings

of freedom and comfort, a boat, a hammock, a deckchair and a sunset as imagery for the destination to achieve the emotional links between customers and the destination brand discussed earlier in this chapter. Specific images of the two hotels should include pools, lights and trees to emphasize their tropical, but safe, ambience, accompanied by information on accommodation, activities and prices to convey reassurance about the affordability of the region and the comforts it offers. A further recommendation was that print advertising should feature a map showing Cairns, the regional gateway in relation to Port Douglas, to emphasize the easy accessibility of the destination.

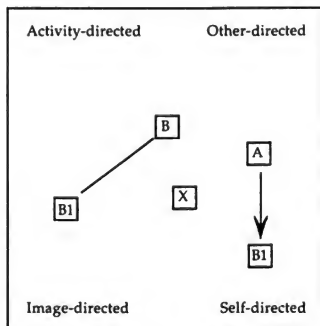


Figure 8.4 Port Douglas destination and hotel branding

The co-operative approach adopted in Tropical North Queensland can be seen as harnessing the self-interest of individual operators to reinforce and develop the common destination image of TNQ and at the same time maximizing the appeal of hotels to particular segments. To extent to which a particular operator uses the destination image within its own marketing determines the extent to which Tourism Queensland can contribute to a co-operative marketing campaign.

Implications for Future Destination Brand and Image Research

The research discussed in this chapter was action-based, and the findings are specific to the destination and the time-frame of the study. The collaborative approach to image management could be applied in other locations. However, if further studies follow, a number of challenges which were identified and addressed in this project need to be considered. (These have not been discussed due to issues of commercial confidentiality.)

- the identification prior to the study of rationales for collaboration between industry and public sector.

- the need to specify appropriate boundaries for project partners and the research team.
- a monitoring system to evaluate the results of any image management procedures implemented as a result of the research.

There are also opportunities to extend the remit of such projects. In the evaluation phase in particular, it may be possible to study the spill over of brand-strengthening image management in terms of its consequences for the smaller destination-based operators such as excursion companies which do not have the resources to participate in the earlier motivational and image research phases. Other industry partners with developed brands, such as airlines serving the area, might be drawn into a further phase, both with respect to the match of their image components to the joint hotel and destination campaign, and in terms of better understanding the motivations underlying destination choice, particularly with respect to the set of destinations considered in the selection stage of holiday purchasing.

A series of studies similar to this, but based on a variety of destinations, might lead to synthesis of co-operative destination branding issues. A number of key issues might emerge:

- * a classification of destination-based businesses into those more and those less able to influence visitors' destination selection decisions;
- * an extension of that typology to identify those organizations which are more or less central to the potential visitor's perceptions of the destination;
- * effective and problematic research protocols when conducting collaborative studies where the objective is commercial and action-oriented.

Different forms of collaboration are possible from the co-operative marketing outlined here, and further case study research might help clarify the advantages of alternative approaches in the specific conditions of other destinations.

Research into destination branding processes, particularly those in which destination authorities collaborate actively with destination operators, is at an early stage of development, and a number of issues require more analysis. One point of concern is that the various organizations involved in providing services to a destination's visitors often hold different views of the area's attractions, and seek to attract different types of visitor. They, therefore, favour different ways to promote it. Further research is also needed to establish the nature of the links between destination marketing and the subsequent performance of individual destination-based businesses.

Issues in Public Sector Involvement

Introduction

The undoubted growth in the economic prosperity of the major industrial countries together with the travel revolution brought about through holidays with pay, lower international transport costs in real terms and information technology, has seen world tourism grow to a truly global business. This growth has not been without fluctuations caused by shocks and cycles in the world economy, but what is remarkable is the resilience of the industry through troubled times and its ability to bounce back. Worldwide, the significance of tourism as a mechanism for economic development has meant that it is an investment opportunity that few governments can afford to ignore. As a rule, the greater the importance of tourism to a country's economy the greater is the involvement of the public sector, to the point of having a government ministry with sole responsibility for tourism. Beyond this governments are involved in supporting a variety of multinational agencies.

The official flag carrier for international tourism is the World Tourism Organization (WTO): it is an operative rather than a deliberative body, whose functions include helping members to maximize the benefits from tourism, identifying markets, assisting in tourism planning as an executing agency of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), providing statistical information, advising on the harmonization of policies and practices, sponsoring education and training and identifying funding sources. Elsewhere there are a number of other international bodies whose activities impinge upon tourism: these include the World Bank, the United Nations, the International Air Transport Association (IATA), the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

At a lower level, there are a variety of regional bodies such as the Organization of American States (OAS), the Pacific Area Travel Association (PATA) and the European Travel Commission (ETC). Most of their efforts are devoted to promotion and marketing, though

they do provide technical assistance. Funds for developing the tourist infrastructure in low-income countries may be obtained from regional development banks such as the Asian Development Bank in Manila, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in London (for Eastern Europe) or the Caribbean development Bank in Barbados. Looking briefly at the structure in Europe, it may be found that, officially, tourism in the European Commission, situated in Brussels, comes under Directorate General XXIII, but the regional development work of Directorate General XVI also involves tourism projects as a means of overcoming regional differences. With the adoption of the Single European Act in 1987, there was a commitment by the European Union (EU) to promote economic and social cohesion through actions to reduce regional disparities and the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 acknowledged, for the first time, the role of tourism in these actions. The resources for mitigating regional differences are drawn from the Pan-European Structural Funds, which are made up of contributions from member states with the express purpose of: helping regions lagging behind, particularly rural areas, assisting the economic conversion of regions facing industrial decline, combating long-term unemployment and dealing with the very special problems of some of the sparsely populated Nordic regions. Alongside public moneys, commercial funding of tourism projects is obtainable from the European Investment Bank.

The Rationale for Intervention

In the last part of the twentieth century, the continuing globalization of competition and the classic failure of state planning (as has been witnessed in the appalling productivity record of the Eastern European countries), leading to the collapse of the Communist system, gave confirmation to the market-oriented view that questioned the role of governments in industrial policy. Globalization and reduced transport costs facilitated export-oriented strategies and the transfer of technology between countries in which there was little role for the state. The consensus arrived at, based on theory and experience, was that markets should be given primacy in the production and allocation of goods and services, but to obtain socially desirable outcomes it should be the task of government to provide an institutional infrastructure in which markets can function. Thus traditional demand management policies and state planning were abandoned in favour of macrostabilization policies to ensure sound money and micro policies to make markets work better. This was less so in less developed countries (LDCs) due to their political structure and the lack of private institutions to take on development. Concern was for action to remove the structural rigidities that gave rise to the dualistic nature of many LDCs, where the traditional and modern were located alongside each other. Bitter experience has shown that market-oriented projects in LDCs with inappropriate macroeconomic policies have struggled to survive. This acknowledgement heralded in an era of structural adjustment, dating from the 1980s, to build onto the characteristics of dualism already accounted for in the economic appraisal process (Wanhill, 1994). The purpose is to ensure a better economic climate, so new projects could function more efficiently, thus improving returns.

Role of Government

With the rise in market power and the globalization of competition, it is becoming

more difficult for the governments in the industrial democracies to meet their traditional obligations in terms of education, social security, health and pensions, because of resistance to high taxes by the electorate. This has led to cutbacks in public expenditure, privatization of infrastructure and the demand that some public merit goods such as museums, galleries and parks, which also form part of the tourist product, should charge for their services. The view is forming that, in an economy that has the appropriate institutional structure to ensure that markets perform as they are supposed to, then there should be no reason to have more than a small state enterprise sector. In sum, the state should fall back on its core tasks needed to run today's market economy:

- guarantor of macroeconomic stability;
- provision of defence and law and order, so as to include a sound regulatory framework for the conduct of business and finance;
- protection of the environment to preserve public health and well-being;
- the guardianship of future generations through sustainable development (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987): natural resource depletion is considered sustainable if there is a more than compensating increase in the stock of other capital;
- providing access to welfare services, health, education and pensions: public merit goods that protect or enhance effective participation in a market economy, allow absorption of advanced technologies and provide a safety net. These can be a partnership between the state and private entities. In some cases the state provides the finance and production is left to the private sector, in others it involves itself in both finance and production;
- correcting for market failure so as to allow for external effects that cannot be internalized through private agreements. In this respect, industrial policy should not be about 'picking winners', but rather about providing the institutional arrangements to support private entrepreneurial success, such as ensuring the efficient functioning of capital markets accounting for project risk and long-time horizons, and the transfer and development of technology.

The tourism dimension

The increasing withdrawal of the state from matters to do with industrial development makes it necessary to query whether the public sector has any role in tourism. The case for government intervention in tourism can be made along traditional lines in terms of the:

- complexity of the tourist product;
- institutional structure;
- guardianship of the resource base;
- market failure.

Complexity of the tourist product

The complexity of the product is indicated by the characteristics of a tourist's journey, where it will be appreciated that the trip is not a single product, but rather it is made up of components supplied by a variety of organizations with different objectives and different economic structures. Furthermore, each offering may be considered unique, as visitors add their own preferences to the total experience. In this manner, the tourist becomes part of the production process.

Market success is the delivering of the right mix of components to satisfy the demands of the visitor, but this delivery requires co-ordination and co-operation. A critical difference between tourism and many other agents of development is that of inseparability, in that tourism is consumed at the place of production, thus involving itself with the host community, and requiring some commodification and sharing of traditions, value systems and culture (Cohen, 1988). Since the tourist industry does not control all those factors which make up the attractiveness of a destination and the impact on the host population can be considerable, then the essence of successful tourism development is the creation of a 'partnership' that is incentive compatible for the various stakeholders in the activity of tourism; central and local government, quasi-public bodies such as tourist boards, voluntary organizations and charitable trusts, the private commercial sector, the local community and the visitors themselves.

Institutional Structure

As a rule, it may be observed that the greater the importance of tourism to a country's economy the greater is the involvement of the public sector, to the point of having a government ministry with sole responsibility for tourism. In this manner, the options concerning the development of tourism can be considered at the highest level of government. The ideal institutional structure is one that is compatible with the global market place in which the tourist industry finds itself, but offers the incentives for the 'partnership' to engage in socially and economically constructive activities, thus avoiding or resolving conflict and preventing actions which enrich one partner at the expense of another. Typically the emphasis is placed on trust, but this is commonly surrounded by a legal framework that gives powers of compulsion, something that is necessary for long-term agreements. What makes the public sector unique is that the state has a monopoly on the legitimate use of force to ensure compliance.

Guardianship of the resource base

The concept of sustainable development is infiltrating the policy framework of many government organizations and agencies, primarily through concern expressed for the natural environment as enshrined in the 'wise growth' policy of Agenda 21 (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, 1992). But in tourism there is the broader relationship of visitors to the physical and social environment, and so sustainability may be summarized as development, which meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future (WTO, 1993). It is evident that the public is becoming more aware of the perceived adverse effects of tourism on the environment and it has become fashionable to 'go green': Muller's 'green viruses'

(1997) appear to be spreading. Some operators have consciously taken the decision to reduce their consumption of natural resources to the benefit of the organization and staff alike. Others have used the concept that green tourism is equated with 'soft' tourism, which has low impact and is therefore acceptable, as little more than a marketing tactic. But there has been generally a rise in the 'green' lobby and the number of 'green' products on offer, which in turn has encouraged both industry associations as well as tourist boards to issue examples of best practice and codes of conduct for their members. However, green tourism, ecotourism or alternative tourism (the words are often used synonymously) are in essence small-scale solutions to what is a large scale problem, namely the mass movements of people travelling for leisure purposes. Thus, there is still a requirement to continue to create large 'resorts' capable of managing high-density flows. The challenge is to build sustainability into all aspects of tourism (Stabler, 1997).

If the institutional framework is to function in a manner that is socially compatible, then there is a prerequisite for local involvement in the development process to encourage discussion about future directions. This has generated interest in models of community tourism development (Murphy, 1985; Inskip, 1991). Cultural conflicts need to be resolved through, say, staging development and using marketing communication channels to prepare guests better for their holiday experience. As a rule, the greater the difference in lifestyles between hosts and guests and the less the former has been exposed to visitors, then the longer should be the period of adaptation.

Market failure

The market failure argument follows on very much from what has gone before, namely that environmental protection and community ownership of the development process are not guaranteed by the free market. Those who argue for the market mechanism as the sole arbiter in the allocation of resources for tourism are ignoring the lessons of history and are grossly oversimplifying the heterogeneous nature of the product. The early growth of the seaside resorts during the latter half of the nineteenth century, as, for example, in the United Kingdom, was the result of a partnership between the public and private sectors (Cooper and Jackson, 1989; Cooper, 1992). The local authorities invested in the promenades, piers, gardens and so on, while the private sector developed the revenue-earning activities, which enhanced the income of the area and in turn increased property tax receipts for the authorities.

Thus, embodied in the tourist product are common goods and services, which are either unlikely to be provided in sufficient quantity if left of the market mechanism, or are available without cost, as is the case with natural resources. Hence, the value of their consumption to society is not reflected in their economic use. The principal concern for the environment is that indiscriminate consumption, without market regulation, will cause irreversible damage that cannot be compensated by increasing the stock of other capital. The upshot is that the single-minded pursuit of private profit opportunities within tourism may be self-defeating, as many older resorts have found to their cost (Plog, 1974).

In the past, as witnessed by the experience of a number of Mediterranean resorts, the lack of public involvement in tourism has resulted in overbuilding by the

accommodation sector, since this tends to be the major revenue-earning activity where there are substantial short-term profits to be made during the early stages of development. Such building has often been at the expense of the aesthetic quality of the natural landscape and also, when it has been overlaid onto an existing town or village, it may severely disrupt the lifestyle of the local community (De Kadt, 1979). For example, the major hotel developments that took place in the resorts of Southern Spain during the 1960s and early 1970s were completed under *laissez faire* expansionism with little consideration given to planning or control. In general, the public infrastructure was overloaded and, since the second half of the 1980s, there has been a continual programme to correct this imbalance and to refurbish the resort centres to give more 'green' space in the form of parks and gardens.

Intervention Policy

It has been noted already that tourism is a multifaceted product: it includes accommodation, transport restaurants, shopping facilities, attractions, entertainment, public infrastructure support and the general way of life of the host community. From a broad perspective, what is required is a balanced development of the many facilities so as to meet tourists' needs in a manner that is sustainable for example, by ensuring that new developments are linked to and improve on other infrastructure, are located on public transport access routes, so as to counter car dependency, and are aesthetically attractive. What is clear is that the complex structure of the product lends itself to the fact that in any tourism development programme there is often a marked difference between private and social benefits and cost. It is right and proper that the private sector should concentrate on commercial criteria for their investment projects, but successful development requires there should be a partnership between the various stakeholders in the activity of tourism.

The role of co-ordinating the partnership approach towards achieving the desired level of tourism development invariably falls on the public sector. The exact nature of a country's position on tourism development is determined by the direction of emphasis given by the government, what the government sees as its core responsibilities and the extent of the development role it envisages for the private sector, which is considerable in terms of modern development thinking. The latter sees the overall objective of any strategy to be one of raising living standards. But this cannot only be seen through increasing levels of per capita GDP; it includes welfare, the environment and enhancing the opportunities for all citizens to participate in and benefit from the activities of society. This must include: the eradication of absolute poverty, provision of employment opportunities and the reduction of huge disparities in inequality, because of the political tensions that they generate and because egalitarian policies result in more citizens realizing their potential, thus enhancing social and economic efficiency. In a democracy, the difficult task of government is to build a consensus on these issues, drawn from shared values, traditions, cultures and a sense of belonging.

Table 9.1 presents a number of common strategic tourism policy objectives that may be found in development plans (Gunn, 1989). In most cases, economics forms the basis of development plans and the objectives shown in the table are commensurate with

the broader concept of raising living standards expressed above. Within this framework there are three objectives that are normally given the central position:

- * employment creation through spreading the benefits of tourism, both direct and indirect, to as many of the host population as possible;
- * foreign exchange earnings to ensure a sound Balance of Payments;
- * regional development, notably in peripheral areas, which, by their very nature, are attractive to tourists and often have few development prospects outside capitalizing on their natural surroundings to create tourism opportunities for the local economy. This is an objective that has already been shown to be a strong element in EU policy (Wanhill, 1997).

TABLE 9.1 Tourism Policy Objectives

Strategic Objective

1. Develop a tourism sector that, in all aspects and at all levels, is of high quality, though not necessarily of high cost.
2. Encourage the use of tourism for both cultural and economic exchange.
3. Distribute the economic benefits of tourism both direct and indirect, as widely and to as many of the host community as feasible.
4. Preserve cultural and natural resources as part of tourism development. Facilitate this through architectural and landscape designs, which reflect local traditions.
5. Appeal to a broad cross-section of international and domestic tourists through sustainable policies and programmes of site and facility development.
6. Maximize foreign exchange earnings to ensure a sound Balance of Payments.
7. Attract high spending 'upmarket' tourists.
8. Increase employment.
9. Aid peripheral regions by raising incomes and employment, thus slowing down or halting emigration.

It is important that governments should not set objectives that may seriously conflict with each other. Too often governments talk of tourism quality yet measure performance in terms of numbers. Common examples of policy objectives, which are most likely to be at variance with each other, are:

- maximizing foreign exchange earnings *versus* actions to encourage the regional dispersion of overseas visitors;
- attracting the high-spend tourist market *versus* policies continually to expand visitor numbers;
- maximizing job creation through generating volume tourist flows *versus* conservation of the environment and heritage;
- community tourism development *versus* mass tourism.

However, it must be pointed out that, while it is no longer considered acceptable that the objective shown in Table 9.1 should be at a cost to the environment or by adversely affecting elements of the host community, this is not always possible at the local level when jobs are at stake. The implementation of policy, therefore, becomes a process of maintaining the balance between the various objectives as opposed to trying to maximize any single one (Lickorish, 1991).

THE NATURE OF INTERVENTION

As stated earlier, deterministic or centralized planning models are no longer fashionable, because the reality is one of uncertainty in which the information is defective and the various economic agents are not under the planner's control. So what are needed are development instruments and flexible institutions that operate well under a wide set of relevant environments. In tourism, the range of policy instruments available to governments are considerable and enable the public sector to exercise varying degrees of influence over the direction of tourism development by acting on both the demand side and the supply side (Akehurst *et al.*, 1994; Charlton and Essex, 1994; Joppe, 1994). In situations where there is clear commercial profit potential, the public sector may only be required to demonstrate a commitment to tourism by stimulating the demand side through marketing and promoting the country, easing frontier formalities and initiating such aspects as liberal transport policies, particularly air access. Supply-side instruments are normally a mixture of incentives and control as well as ownership of the tourism plant by the public sector.

Specifically, the manner in which the governments have been able to influence tourism may be classified in two ways: demand and revenue management, and supply and cost management, as shown in Table 9.2. Demand management policies are aimed at guiding the tourist's choice, controlling the costs of stay or stimulating/regulating visitor numbers, whereas, government activities on the supply side are concerned with influencing the providers of tourist facilities and services. It is evident from Table 9.2 that more instruments pertain to the supply side than the demand side, which is reflective of the traditional regulatory power of the state. But the move towards greater market orientation has left some of these instruments, such as ownership of the tourism plant, increasingly redundant.

TABLE 9.2 Public Policy Instruments

<i>Demand and Revenue Instruments</i>	<i>Supply and Cost Instruments</i>
1. Marketing and promotion	1. Land ownership and control
2. Information provision	2. Building regulations
3. Pricing	3. Research and planning
4. Controlling access	4. Market regulation
	5. Taxation
	6. Ownership
	7. Finance and development
	8. Manpower planning
	9. Education and training
	10. Investment incentives

Demand and Revenue Management

Marketing and promotion

Marketing is the principal function of the National Tourist Organization (NTO) and specific techniques have been widely discussed in the tourism literature (Jefferson and Lickorish, 1991; Middleton, 1994; Witt and Moutinho, 1994). It is sufficient here to point out that the key requirements for effective marketing are clear objectives, a thorough knowledge of markets and products and the allocation of adequate resources. Typically, with many other calls on the government's budget, treasury officials are naturally parsimonious with regard to expenditure on marketing because of difficulties in measuring effectiveness and they like to encourage co-operative venture with the private sector. As a rule, the amounts spent by governments and other public organizations on destination promotion are only a fraction of what is spent in total by the private sector. One of the main reasons for this is that private enterprises are competing for market share at the destination, whereas, governments are interested in expanding the total market to the destination. In this respect, probably the most important task of the NTO is to build an image of the country as a tourist destination.

Information provision

The ability of tourists to express their demands depends upon their awareness of the facilities available, particularly attractions that are a key component of leisure tourism. The evidence suggests that the creation of trails or tourist circuits will enhance the visitor experience as well as regulating tourist flows. The establishment of a network of Tourist Information Centres (TICs) and Tourist Information Points (TIPs) at transport terminals and prominent tourist spots will both help the visitor and assist in dispersion. It is often not appreciated that it is the poorly informed visitor who is likely to contribute to crowding and traffic congestion due to lack of knowledge about where to go and what there is to see at the destination. Normally, visitors will first look for the main attractions and then 'spill over' into lesser attractions the longer they stay at the destination. Giving prominence to the variety of attractions available, restricting advertising and informing excursion operators of times when congestion can be avoided are examples of the way in which information management can be used to try and relieve pressure on sensitive tourist areas.

In some countries, NTOs use the provision of information to influence tourists' behaviour. This may come about through editing the information in the tour operator's brochure so that it does not generate unrealistic expectations about a destination and presents the tourist with an informed view of the culture of the host community. An alternative approach is a poster and leaflet campaign aimed directly at the tourist to explain the 'dos' and 'don'ts' or acceptable behaviour; for example, several island resorts offering beach holidays often produce leaflets on standards of dress and the unacceptability of wearing only swimsuits in shops, banks and so on. Such 'codes of conduct' are not mandatory, but are based on the presumption that it is lack of awareness that is preventing tourists behaving in a responsible way towards that society.

Pricing

There are several ways in which the public sector may affect the price the tourist pays for staying at a destination. The direct influence arises out of state ownership, notably in the case of attractions. Many of the most important attractions at a destination fall within the public domain and may be regarded as public merit goods that bestow recreational or educational benefits on the local population. For these reasons, admission has often been free or at a nominal price, but the trend in market economies is for governments to introduce charges for publicly owned attractions, although the public good argument still provokes political debate.

Governments own the majority of the world's airlines and it is not uncommon in LDCs to find state ownership of hotels and sometimes souvenir shops. Thus, in some countries, the key elements making up holiday expenditure are directly affected by the public sector, to the point of reaching total control in the situation that existed in the former centrally planned economies of Eastern Europe. However, many of these state-owned assets have become debt-ridden operations and, in an era of market liberalization, there is increasing pressure on governments to divest themselves of such responsibilities.

Indirect influences come from economic directives such as foreign exchange restrictions, differential rates of sales tax, special duty free shops for tourists and price controls to protect visitors. Exchange restrictions are commonly employed in countries where foreign exchange is scarce and the tourist is usually compelled to change money at an overvalued exchange rate, which serves to increase the real cost of the trip. Tourists are discouraged from changing money on the black market by threats of legal prosecution and severe penalties if caught. With the globalization of money markets, instances of exchange controls are becoming fewer and fewer.

The case for price controls is advanced in terms of promoting the long-term growth of the tourist industry and preventing monopolistic exploitation of tourists through overcharging, a practice which can be damaging to the reputation of the destination. There is no doubt that destinations are aware of their price competitiveness and some NTOs compile a tourist price index for their own country as well as others, in order to assess their relative market position. Where governments regulate prices, the objective is to set their level at a rate that is sufficient to encourage the long-run growth in supply and commensurate with market expansion. Producers, on the other hand, are prevented from making short-run excess profits.

Where price controls are enforced, they are normally a further stage in an overall market regulation package, which commences with the registration and licensing of establishments. In the case of hotels this will include classification and possibly a quality grading system. Price regulation can be found in almost all instances where the government manages capacity and therefore restricts competition. Worldwide, the most common example is the licensing and metering of taxis. Where competition exists then the argument for price controls hinges upon whether supply adjusts more quickly than demand. There have been many examples of Mediterranean resorts where the growth of bed capacity has outstripped demand and so the problem for the authorities has been more an issue of

controlling standards than prices, as well as trying to prevent ruinous competition amongst hoteliers. In market economics, there is a basic ideology that is against regulating prices and, where opportunities for suppliers to make excess profits in the short term do arise, control is often exercised informally through exhortation that it will not be in the long-term best interests of the destination. It is reasonable to assume that firms themselves will be aware of competition from other countries, though they are often under considerable short-term pressures to increase profitability.

Controlling access

Controlling access is a means of limiting visitor numbers or channelling visitor flows. At an international level, the easiest way for a country to limit demand is by restricting the number of visas issued, but the trend is one of easing frontier formalities, with the imposition of visas being more to do with countering illegal immigration than tourism. Prohibiting charter flights is a means by which several countries have conveyed an image of exclusiveness to the market and, in some instances, have protected the national air carrier. At the destination, controlling access is usually concerned with protecting popular cultural sites and natural resources. Thus visitor management techniques may be used to relieve congestion at peak times and planning legislation invoked to prohibit or control the development of tourist infrastructure (particularly accommodation) near or around natural sites.

Supply and Cost Management

Landuse planning and control

Control over landuse is the most basic and arguably the technique that has the greatest influence on the supply of tourist structures. All governments have a form of town and country planning legislation whereby permission is required to develop, extend or change the use of almost every piece of land. As a rule, the controls are designed to protect areas of high landscape and amenity value. Zoning of land and compulsory purchase have been commonly used as a means of promoting tourism development. One of the key aspects of land control is that before any detailed site plans and future land requirements for tourism are published, the appropriate administrative organization and legislation is in place in order to prevent speculation, land division or parcelling. Dealings or speculation in land prior to legislative control have been a common cause of failure in tourism development plans.

Building regulations

Building regulations are used to supplement landuse control and limit the impact of visual intrusion on the natural surroundings. Typically they cover the size of buildings, height, shape, colour, screening and car parking arrangements. The latter is a matter which is not always given the attention it deserves in some resorts. To private sector operators, car parks are often considered unproductive space and so there is a tendency to avoid having to provide them, leaving visitors little alternative than to park their cars in nearby streets. This may only serve to add to traffic congestion and the annoyance of local residents. In addition to structural regulations, many countries also have protective

legislation governing cultural resources such as historic buildings, archaeological remains, religious monuments, conservation areas and even whole towns.

Research and planning

The tourist industry usually expects the public sector to collect statistical information and carryout market surveys. For their own part, governments are interested in monitoring changes in the industry and carryout research to identify the social benefits and costs of tourism. More recent developments have been in the field of local area statistics to enable communities to monitor tourist activity.

Market regulation

Governments pass legislation to regulate the market conduct of firms in matters of competitive practices and also to limit the degree of ownership in particular sectors of the industry to prevent the abuse of monopoly power. Governments may also regulate markets by imposing on suppliers, obligations to consumers. This does not have to be legislation; it could be industry-enforced codes of conduct of the kind laid down as conditions for membership of national travel trade associations, though in Europe such codes have passed into the legislation of member states as a result of the EU Package Travel Directive (European Community, 1990). The latter created a comprehensive scheme of consumer protection, the key features being a bonding and security regime to protect tourists in the event of insolvency by the travel organizer, and the organizer's contractual liability for proper performance of the elements of the package, whether provided directly by the organizer or other suppliers.

One of the economic criteria dictating the optimal workings of markets is that consumers should have complete knowledge of the choices open to them. For if consumers do not have the right to safety, to be informed, to choose or the right of redress and firms are not behaving according to the accepted rules of conduct, then resources will be wasted, which may be seen to be inefficient. The economic aspects of a consumer policy are essentially a trade-off in that, as the level of protection increases, so wastage or compensation payments decline, while at the same time the costs of protection increase. The optimum amount of protection is where the declining marginal costs of compensation just balance the marginal increase in protection costs. This is the economic rationale: on social or political grounds the state may legislate to ensure nearly 100 per cent protection. But the economic consequences of such an action could be to raise the supply price of the good or service to the point where the market is substantially diminished. At the consultation stage of the EU Package Travel Directive amendments were accepted to some of the proposals on the grounds that their compliance would significantly raise holiday prices.

Taxation

There are two main reasons why governments levy specific taxes on the tourism sector. The first is the classic argument for a tourist tax, namely to allocate to the supply price the external costs imposed on the host community through providing public amenities for tourists, including any environmental costs. The second is for purposes of

raising revenue; tourists are seen as part of the overall tax base and, from a political perspective, they are not voters in the destination country. With the growth of tourism worldwide, there has been escalation in the number of countries levying tourist taxes and in the rates of taxation, drawing the inference that governments principally see such taxes as a source of revenue. It is not unreasonable that the tourist industry should pay taxes, but the World Travel and Tourism Council (Myers *et al.*, 1997) has argued that such payments should be made in accordance with the following guidelines:

- **Equity:** the fair and even-handed treatment of travel and tourism with respect to the other sectors of the economy.
- **Efficiency:** the development of tax policies that have a minimal effect on the demand for travel and tourism, unless specifically imposed for the purpose of regulating tourist flows, to, say, environmentally sensitive areas.
- **Simplicity:** taxes should be simple to pay and administer, so as not to disrupt the operation of the travel and tourism system.

The most common forms of raising public income from tourism are airport departure taxes, ticket taxes and taxes on hotel occupancy. When it comes to raising revenue, casinos can be a very profitable source: governments have been known to take as much as 50 per cent of the 'drop', which is the amount of money taken in from the tables.

Ownership

Mention has already been made of state ownership of attractions, natural amenities and some key revenue-earning activities such as hotels, modes of transport (especially airlines) and souvenir shops. It is possible to add to this list conference centres, exhibition halls, sports and leisure complexes (including casinos) and the provision of general infrastructure. The latter may include: banks, hospitals; public utilities (water and energy supplies); telecommunications and road networks; transport terminals; and education and training establishments. The arguments for public ownership of these facilities rest on their importance as essential services for any economic development, the fact that outside investors would expect such provision and economies of scale in production. Traditionally, public infrastructure and transport networks have been regarded as natural monopolies; the minimum scale of production is such as to make it impossible for more than one firm to enjoy all the economics in the market, so that even if they were not publicly owned, these organizations would need to be publicly regulated.

Finance and development

Where the government envisages a particular direction for tourism growth on wishes to speed up the process, it may intervene extensively in the market place by setting up a Tourist Development Corporation (TDC) and assigning it the responsibility for building resorts. A well known example of this process was the building of new resorts in Languedoc-Roussillon, France, but many countries have instituted TDCs at one time or another, for example, Egypt, India, Malaysia, New Zealand and a number of African countries. In theory, once the resort has been built, the development corporation's function

ceases and the assets are transferred to the private sector (at a price) and the local authority. This is the general trend in market-oriented economies, but in countries where there is a strong degree of central planning, as in India, the TDC often maintains an operational role in running hotels and tours, but most recent directions have been towards privatization. Beyond this, governments may also establish a Development Bank with duties to provide special credit facilities for tourist projects and on lend funds made available by multinational aid agencies.

Manpower planning and education and training

The provision of an educated and trained labour force to meet the demands of a modern economy has been a task that has fallen to many governments. Actions that argument this may be the provision of low-cost housing for hotel and catering workers as well as immigration policies to manage the skills in the labour force.

Investment incentives

Governments around the world offer a wide range of investment incentives to developers. Their justification for them is the market failure argument, particularly in respect of regional development where the aim is to give the locality 'tourism presence' in the market place or to rejuvenate old resorts. They may be grouped under three broad headings:

- **Reduction of capital costs:** these include capital grants or loans at preferential rates, interest rate relief a moratorium on loan repayments for, say, x years, provision of infrastructure, provision of land on concessional terms, tariff exemption on construction materials and equity participation.
- **Reduction of operating costs:** in order to improve operating viability governments may grant tax 'holidays' (5-10 years), give a labour or training subsidy, offer tariff exemption on imported materials and supplies, provide special depreciation allowances and ensure that there is double taxation or unilateral relief. The latter are government-to-government agreements that prevent an investor being taxed twice on the same profits.
- **Investment security:** the object here is to win investors' confidence in an industry that is very sensitive to the political environment and economic climate. Action here would include guarantees against nationalization, free availability of foreign exchange, repatriation of invested capital, profits, dividends and interest, loan guarantees, provision of work permits for 'key' personnel and the availability of technical advice.

The administration of grants or loans may be given to the NTO, a government-sponsored investment bank or the TDC. Tax matters will usually remain the responsibility of the treasury or the ministry incharge of finance. Less developed countries are often able to attract low-cost investment funds from multinational aid agencies, which they can use to augment their existing resources for the provision of development finance.

It may be taken that policies to ensure investment security are primary requirements for attracting tourism developers. The objective of financial incentives is to

improve returns to capital on order to attract developers and investors. Where there is obvious market potential the government may only have to demonstrate its obvious market potential the government may only have to demonstrate its commitment to tourism by providing the necessary climate for investment security. Such a situation occurred in Bermuda during the early 1970s and so, in order to prevent overexploitation of the tourism resources, the Bermuda Government imposed a moratorium on large hotel building (Archer, 1995; Archer and Wanhill, 1980). On the other hand, there is no doubt that many countries have been forced by competitive pressures for foreign investment into situations where they become trapped in a bidding process to secure clients and as a result the variety of financial incentives multiplies together with an escalation of the rates of benefit, without evaluating their necessity or their true cost to the economy.

It is important to note that there are frequent instances where it is gross uncertainty, as in times of recession or where the concept is too new, rather than limited potential that prevents the private sector investing. In such situations the principal role of government intervention is to act as a catalyst to give confidence to investors. Thus public funds are able to lever in private money by nature of the government's commitment to tourism and enable the market potential of an area to be realized. The rejuvenation of inner cities and decayed harbour areas has often been achieved with the combination of establishing a development corporation and providing investment incentives for the private sector.

In implementing a tourism investment policy the government has to decide to what extent incentives should be legislated as automatic entitlements, as against being discretionary awards. Automatic incentives may give too much money away, when what is required to ensure that the treasury receives maximum benefit from its funds is the application of the concept of 'additionality.' The latter seeks to provide financial support or the equivalent benefits in kind to the point where the developer will just proceed with the project. This is the favoured approach amongst developed will just proceed with the project. This is the favoured approach amongst developed nations, where they have the ability to offer grants and loans, but LDCs are usually in a less fortunate position.

On a world scale, competition for tourism investment frequently requires countries to legislate for automatic financial help in order to attract investors in the first instance. Some countries may legislate for all the incentives discussed here; others for a subset of them. Several countries have been guilty of copying the incentive legislation of their neighbours without any real grasp of the meaning of this legislation.

The appropriateness of the various financial incentives available depends on understanding the nature of the business risk and the likely returns to the tourist industry, as well as the ability of the country to afford them. Thus developing countries may find themselves in no position to offer grants or cheap loans, which highlights the importance of contributions from aid agencies. One of the main sources of business risk in tourist enterprises is the tendency to have a high ratio of capital charges in relation to operating expenses. It is for this reason that incentives to reduce capital costs are the preferred form of assistance when the viability of the business is being considered.

Market Solutions or Control

Modern development practice gives emphasis to market solutions. The instruments examined above illustrate on the one hand less favoured policies of state control, either through legislative force or ownership, and on the other regulatory and co-operative agreements, incentives and infrastructure provision to help markets work. It would be convenient if there were only a few instruments or levers, which could be considered optimal from a policy perspective. Certainly, the tourist industry responds strongly to legislation and the availability of finance, but the tourist adopt a bundle of instruments and adjust them over-time, in response to feedback information on their workings. This is the flexible institutional approach to conditions of uncertainty and throws light on the question of how the mechanism for sustainable development should work.

In market-oriented economies, the policy preference is based on the principle that the 'polluter' should pay, thus prices should reflect not only the economic costs of provision but also the social costs. The difficulty with market solutions is that many features of a destination have public good properties whereby consumption is non-excludable and there is an element of public resistance to charging for environments, which are presumed to belong to all. In such situations there is little choice other than to control visitor flows by influencing behaviour through visitor management schemes and/or to follow a programme of continual repair and maintenance. The significant aspect of many environmental matters is that the sheer number of agents involved in tourism, both public and private, with very different objectives and performance measures, makes it virtually impossible to achieve concerted action other than through a regulating agency that has the force of law, which leaves little scope for market economics. Where there are diverse agents, who share many goals in common, then it is possible to generate non-statutory agreements through trade associations, which act like clubs by devising a rule book of shared values for the benefit of their members.

As an example of this conundrum, the British experience has been that rarely have visitors or tourist businesses been charged directly for the social and environmental costs generated by their actions, because there is still debate on a common set of sustainable tourism development indicators. The money is paid indirectly through general taxation and most of the burden of coping with congestion, litter and visitor management falls on the public sector, particularly local authorities. To this extent the British Government tries to take account of the influx of visitors in its support grant for local provision of public services. This is not to say that the 'polluter pays principle' through the application of 'green' taxes may not be appropriate in certain circumstances. Thus the Australian authorities raise a specific charge on visitors to the Great Barrier Reef, a popular destination which is under considerable environmental pressure, and, more generally, governments are looking at a 'carbon tax' to try to limit emissions from car usage.

Monitoring Intervention

Within Europe, the EU has developed tried and tested methods for evaluating its activities across member states and these are outlined here by way of an example of how monitoring procedures may be undertaken. The principle of subsidiarity, that it development down to lowest competent authority, governs the monitoring and evaluation

of projects within a regional funding package. This is carried out by Programme Monitoring Committees, which are normally made up of representatives of central and local government, public agencies and any other interested bodies. Targets are set for every project at approval stage and managers must submit returns, indicating progress against targets, every quarter. Failure to do this may result in the suspension of grant payments.

Under EU regulations, the appropriate central government department responsible for administering European programmes is required to make site visits to examine specifications and project development. Since EU assistance is normally a matching payment, other public moneys are usually involved, in which case it is customary for the government department concerned to undertake a post-evaluation study, *via* a questionnaire, to assess whether the project has lived up to its predicted performance. It is a member state responsibility to see that funds are correctly spent and yield good value for money.

The Commission and the European Court of Auditors have powers of examination and verification to establish that projects are:

- eligible for funds as specified;
- managed in accordance with Community rules with regard to technical and financial controls;
- claiming grants against justifiable expenditure.

Verification is carried out by one or two visits every year whereby a group of preselected projects are subject to detail checking. Thus the Commission's involvement is normally to do with accounting and administrative procedures, rather than overall programme direction. There procedures have revealed a number of fraudulent practices, but unfortunately for the Commission it is the press headlines concerning fraudulent behaviour that are drawn to the public's attention, rather than the Commission's success in catching the culprits.

Conclusion

With tourism set to be one of the major economic drivers of the twenty-first century, it has raised development and employment opportunities that few governments can afford to ignore. Modern development economics assigns a greater role to market power to determine the allocation of resources, with government being given the task of providing the institutional structure for markets to function. However, the complexity of the tourist product and the current emphasis on sustainable tourism indicates that, on the basis of past experience, uncontrolled commercial development is likely to create more problems than it solves. It is right and proper that the private sector should concentrate on commercial criteria for their investment projects, but successful development requires there should be a partnership between the various stakeholders in the activity of tourism.

The role of co-ordinating such a partnership, to achieve the desired level of tourism development, falls on the public sector. The economic theory suggests that targeting specific projects and concentration to ensure 'tourism visibility' is the most appropriate strategy. There is a whole range of instruments that can be used to influence the practical

outcomes of such a policy. Given that tourist movements will increase both nationally and internationally, there will be a need for more regulation and improved management of tourism resources to prevent environmental and sociocultural degradation in the interests of 'responsible' tourism. The current approach is not to reverse the market changes that have taken place. Such a policy would now be difficult to implement, as the increasing globalization of economic activity has reduced the power of national governments to control their destinies. Rather, the move is one towards a more pragmatic approach to intervention and regulation, with an emphasis on international collaboration.

10

The 'Researcher's Gaze' Towards the New Millennium

Introduction

The reference to the 'researcher's gaze' in the title of this section of the book highlights the inevitability of a variety of different viewpoints being produced when we assemble a group of researchers to look at the new millennium in terms of research issues. Just as tourists, according to John Urry (1990), have different 'gazes' that structure the nature of their experience, the researcher's view of the world is coloured by the particular theoretical and methodological perspectives that drive their approach to research. Pearce *et al.* (1996) have emphasized that the gazes identified by Urry are themselves a reflection of different social representations produced by the social context of tourists' everyday lives. Similarly, it can be argued that researchers undergo a socialization process within their particular discipline or school of thought, and this has some parallels with social representations phenomena. This feature of scientific inquiry has been explicitly described by Thomas Kuhn (1962).

It has been noted that, while tourism has been an element of human activity systems virtually since trade began, it was only since the second half of the twentieth century that this activity became a prominent part of the global economy and lifestyles. Tourism has therefore emerged as a distinct research focus relatively recently, and tourism researchers have used the foundations provided focus relatively recently, and tourism researchers have used the foundations provided by a range of established social science disciplines to build what has essentially become a multidisciplinary field of study (Graburn and Jafari, 1991; Gunn, 1994). This aspect of tourism research, however, may also be a reflection of the growing realization that the multifaceted and complex nature of most social phenomena demands such an approach (Faulkner and Goeldner, 1998). Whatever the reasons for the multi-disciplinary nature of tourism research, it does mean that we now have a range of perspectives at our disposal to inform the examination of tourism phenomena and this is reflected in the collection of contribution contained in this part of the book.

In the selection of the following contributors and topics, we have been mindful of the constraints imposed by the overall organisation of the book. Just as it would be very ambitious to compile a comprehensive overview of issues and trends affecting tourism in general with in the covers of a single volume, it is not possible to do the same with respect to aspects of the research agenda within a part of the book. What we have endeavoured to do, however, is to provide a range of insights on the methodological traditions, challenges and innovations that will influence the research 'landscape', at least in the early years of the new millennium.

We begin with a chapter by Graham Dann and Joan Phillips, who note that the positivist tradition has become entrenched virtually as the *modus operandi* of tourism research. They attribute this to the growth in the influence of newer, business-oriented research disciplines (e.g. marketing and management), at the expense of more traditional social science disciplines (e.g. anthropology, psychology and sociology), and suggest that our capacity to understand tourism phenomena is circumscribed by the corresponding underutilization of qualitative methods. This point is reinforced by a clarification of the nature of qualitative research, a description of the advantages of such an approach and an indication of the situations where qualitative methods might be most effective. It is against this background that some thoughts about the future role of qualitative methods in tourism research are offered.

In one sense, Chris Ryan's chapter reinforces elements of the argument presented at the beginning of this section, at least to the extent that the emphasizes the subjectivity of tourism research. He also emphasizes that this is no less so in the case of the quantitative, positivistic method than it is with any other approach. After exploring the related issues of subjectivity and reflexivity in tourism research, he examines the potential applications of neural networks. The reference to neural networks provides a focus for highlighting a tourism research conundrum, which is not particularly new, but will nevertheless become as much a part of the research debate in the new century as it was in the old. That is, on the one hand, 'research into tourist behaviour involves an interaction of the researcher-researched with its respective subjectivities' and, on the other, there will be tools, such as neural network models, that in effect 'mimic tourist experiences,' but shed little explanatory light because they are 'bound within an empiricist "black box."

Although it was inspired by the product life cycle model from marketing, the Tourism Destination Life Cycle (DLC) model developed by Richard Butler some 20 years ago (Butler, 1980) stands out as one of the few 'indigenous' theoretical schemas that have emerged in the tourism research field. Not only has it become one of the most influential and enduring heuristic frameworks for analysing the evolution of tourism destinations, but it has also been recognized as a useful organizational framework for destination development and planning (Cooper, 1994). In his chapter, Richard Butler reflects on the role his model has played in the development of tourism research 20 years on and considers its implications for research in the twenty-first century.

David Weaver's chapter examines the concept of sustainable tourism and some of the definitional and measurement problems associated with its applications to

destination management. The relevance and importance of this issue to the research agenda springs from the universal acceptance, in principle at least, of sustainable development as a goal for tourism development. However, the identification of such goals in the planning and management process matters little without the development and utilization of indicators, so that progress towards the goal can be monitored. Thus, the establishment of planning and management regimes that are sensitive to sustainability principles in the twenty-first century hinges on the development of systems for measuring the parameters of sustainability.

With the trend towards the globalization of the ownership and control of productive capacity, and the likely continuation of this trend in the twenty-first century, national boundaries have become (and are becoming) less relevant as an organizational framework for economic activities. The implications of this with regard to the analysis of the economic impacts of tourism are explored by Trevor Mules, who, in the process, weighs up the relative merits of Input-Output (I-O) and General Equilibrium modelling approaches.

In the final chapter by Bill Faulkner and Roslyn Russell, Graham Dann and Joan Phillips point regarding the positivistic orientation of tourism research in the recent past is noted and it is suggested that this reflects the dominance of the so called Newtonian or Cartesian paradigm. The implication of this is that tourism research has tended to become more focused on central tendency in populations, rather than outliers, and it has been assumed that tourism systems are relatively stable equilibrium-seeking systems in which change can be generally understood in terms of linear or quasi-linear patterns. It is argued that, in order to develop a better understanding of change processes, more attention should be given to outliers because these often preceipitate instability and fundamental change in tourism systems. It is also suggested that, during such phases, non-linear patterns of change are more prevalent and chaos theory (and the allied complexity perspective) provides a more meaningful basis for understanding the dynamics of change. Applications of chaos theory to the development of conceptual schema for analysing entrepreneurial activity and tourism disasters are then illustrated, with a view to providing a case for a new research focus on turbulence in tourism.

Qualitative Tourism Research in the Late-Twentieth Century and Beyond

Graham Dann and Joan Phillips

Introduction

Every ten years or so tourism researchers seem to come to their methodological census. Over two decades ago, there was an important article by Cohen (1979) tracing developments in the sociology of tourism which included some very pertinent observations on the essential qualities of research. Then, in 1988, *Annals of Tourism Research* devoted a special issue to methodology which included another incisive paper by Cohen (1988) and a frequently cited editorial contribution by Dann *et al.* (1998). Eleven years later, *Tourism Management* carried out a similar state-of-the-art exercise (Faulkner and Ryan, 1999), which included a number of very useful articles demonstrating what progress had been made since tourism had become accepted as a legitimate domain of inquiry.

In between these various assessments, there has additionally been a number of published commentaries which provides food for methodological thought. Among these scattered offerings, there is a short essay by Ryan (1997, p. 4), which states that tourism as an academic subject 'is characterised by increasing debate and more sophistication in the methods used for analysis'. In spite of this seemingly rosy appraisal, however, Ryan (1997, p. 3) prefaces his remarks with the following cautionary observation:

Until quite recently, I wondered if we were not entrenched in a positivist tradition that was blinding us, as a group of scholars to developments in the other social sciences.

After citing works by Urry, Rojek, Nash, Dann and Selwyn as evidence of new approaches, he then rhetorically asks:

Do the methodologies these authors espouse impact upon the research being reported in the journals?

before supplying his own damning answer:

I would have to generally conclude 'no'! So much of published research is still dominated by conventional quantitative methods that are made all the easier by the wider spread of computer packages. (Ryan, 1997, p. 3).

A similar sentiment can be found in Riley (1996, p. 37), who argues that:

Despite a wide acceptance of qualitative methods in sociological and anthropological circles, the same acceptance has been limited in marketing and other disciplines that contribute to understanding tourism,

and in Burns and Holden (1995, p. 13), who maintain that:

Those who study tourism should not merely concern themselves only with that which is business or that which is easily quantifiable. While such an approach may provide a mark of respectability for tourism studies in a world dominated by quantitative method, neglect of qualitative issues will inevitably lead to a poorer tourism product for both the hosts and the guests.

The current chapter takes over from the foregoing positions. It attempts to develop them more fully under the following self-imposed tasks:

1. to examine the nature of qualitative research as it relates to tourism;
2. to supply examples of various topics to which qualitative tourism research may be appropriately applied;
3. to assess the major advantages of qualitative tourism research;
4. to provide a state-of-the-art model of qualitative tourism research that incorporates the main themes and principal players of contemporary tourism; and
5. to offer suggestions as to where late twentieth-century qualitative tourism research may lead in the future.

The first-four stages of this account are retrospective; the fifth, together with a conclusion, is prospective. They collectively suggest that the days of pure quantification are numbered and that, when the counting stops, only quality will remain.

THE NATURE OF QUALITATIVE TOURISH RESEARCH

Over twenty years ago, although admittedly from the standpoint of a single discipline, Cohen (1979) highlighted what he considered to be the hallmarks of research in the sociology of tourism, namely that it should be processual, contextual, comparative and emic. In other words, he was respectively claiming that investigations should be diachronic/longitudinal, explore various types of tourists and tourism institutions, be capable of generalization and be grounded in an insider perspective. Interestingly, whereas, these attributes can apply to several other social science disciplines, they are more germane to qualitative research than to its quantitative counterpart. Needless to say, Cohen's pleas were largely disregarded at the time. Some nine years later, and no doubt sensing

the need to restate his case. Cohen (1988) was more explicit in his comments. Referring now to what had become emerging traditions in the qualitative sociology of tourism, he identified a number of studies which had derived their inspiration from the theoretical insights of Boorstin, MacCannell and Turner. On this occasion, Cohen's point was that qualitative research had to be continuous, cumulative and case study transcendent. Even though he did not have a similar message for quantitative researchers, already a picture was beginning to develop.

In the same special issue of *Annals* in which Cohen's (1988) article appeared, guest editors Dann (a sociologist), Nash (an anthropologist) and Pearce (a psychologist) (1988) attempted to draw some of the methodological threads together and to apply them across tourism's multidisciplinary boundaries. They argued then that tourism research, in order to live up to its designation, had to demonstrate a satisfactory blend of high theoretical awareness and equally elevated methodological sophistication. However, and unhappily, they could only identify a few instances where such research met these basic requirements. Instead, it tended to fall into one of the three other categories occupied by quadrants resulting from the intersection of the two criteria.

The model generated by Dann *et al.* (1988) was later that year tested longitudinally by Dann (1988) in relation to development in Caribbean tourism research. Here a similar conclusion was reached—that while some gains had been made in the literature over-time (notably in the area of greater indigenization of authorship)—still only 5 per cent of the works surveyed reached the optimal situation.

According to Walle (1997), one reason for this sorry state of affairs has been the tendency in academia to equate scientific knowledge with quantitative techniques, in order thereby to reduce subjective bias and increase rigour (cf. Decrop, 1999, p.157). May be the only rigour he has in mind is rigor mortis since Walle (1997, p. 529) maintains that, as far as tourism research is concerned, the very subject-matter requires that 'an understanding of people in their own terms' of this highly experiential and interactive phenomenon should utilize some of the advances made in anthropology and allied fields which 'artistically' explore the life worlds of tourism's participants. In other words, if tourism is as multidisciplinary as claimed, should it not draw on the progress achieved by its qualitatively oriented constituent disciplines?

Hollinshead (1996, p. 68) anticipates this view with a complementary point when he argues that:

The infixities of culture, of identity, of meaning and of representation do appear (at face value) to demand the kind of slow, exhaustive and ultrasuspicious practices that are generally offered by the qualitative researcher

rather than 'the heavy quantification of touristological studies'. For Hollinshead (1996, p. 69), tourism researchers should adopt the creative approach of the *bricoleur* (Levi-Strauss's inductive thinker, cf. Walle, 1996, p. 879, open to avenues on interpretation, introspection and the interactivity of gender and ethnicity. Indeed, he tellingly adds:

Qualitative researchers always ought to think historically, interactionally,

structurally, reflectively and biographically when they probe the lived experiences of the here and now in tourism matters of sun, sand and sensation as in any other social/human setting. (Hollinshead, 1996, p. 71)

Alternatively, and as stated by Babbie (1995, p. 307), the often quoted Master of Method:

Like an investigative detective, the social researcher looks for clues, and clues of social behavior are all around you. In a sense, everything you see represents the answer to some important social scientific question—all you have to do is think of the question.

The 'all you have to do' is, of course, that vital element called 'theory'—the provision of understanding, the supplying of what Max Weber (1968, p. 99) refers to as 'adequacy at the level of meaning'.

What, then, is qualitative research? According to fellow expert Dooley (1984, p. 267), it is 'social research based on non-quantitative observations made in the field and analysed in non-statistical ways'. However, if there is a desire to go beyond a definition that merely describes something in terms of its opposite, it may be preferable to adopt Ali's (1998, p. 82) simple idea of 'getting close to data in their natural setting', or Riley's (1996, p. 38) somewhat longer version of 'An investigation that takes place in settings where subjects of interest exist, in an effort to bring meaning and understanding to different phenomena, as seen by the people who experience them.'

It is this 'naturalistic' attribute (cf. Denzin, 1989) of qualitative research which suggests a bottom-up approach to theory—or what Glaser and Strauss (1967) classically refer to as 'grounded theory'. Whereas, quantitative research tends to follow the positivist requirements of deducing hypotheses from pre-existing theory, their subsequent testing (in) validation of theory and prediction (Decrop, 1999), in qualitative research, theory is often as emergent as the culture it seeks to explore (Bruner, 1994). Hence the latter's association with constructivist and interpretivist paradigms (Bruner, 1994, Hollinshead, 1996).

VARIOUS TOPICS TO WHICH QUALITATIVE TOURISM RESEARCH MAY BE APPROPRIATELY APPLIED

To a large extent, the decision whether to opt for quantitative or qualitative methods (or may be a mixture of both) is generally predicated on the nature of the topic at hand and the type of medium through which it is normally accessed.

Take the complex question of tourist motivation, for instance, and the largely unanalysed theme of escape (Moore, 1997). If one simply requires the validation of pre-existent theory (e.g. that of Maslow, 1954), or the replication of deduced and operationalized hypotheses, all that is needed is an application of the foregoing to a given population whose related attitudes can be scaled, measured and statistically tested. However, should one desire to go beyond a close-ended, standardized check list of items prepared by the investigator to more open-ended and unclassified issues raised by the research subjects, a more qualitative, multimedia approach becomes necessary. Thus,

adopting the latter, reasons for travel may be gauged by analysing promotional material which has itself been produced in order to target the imputed motivation of persons and groups representing various niche markets. In such a manner, the brochures of tour operators, for example, have been explored by Dann (1996b), Selwyn (1993), Uzzell (1984) and Weightman (1987), travel advertising by Dann (1988a), Thurot and Thurot (1983), videos by Hanefors and Larsson (1993), guidebooks by Bhattacharyya (1997) and maps by Dann (1996a) and Seaton (1994). However, if the inquiry wishes to go further and examine reactions to such material, it could well adopt a strategy employed by Dann (1995) in relation to the publicity disseminated by national tourist offices. Now it becomes possible to scrutinize the actual vocabulary of motive used by tourists (Pearce and Caltabiano, 1983) and to see how well this notoriously difficult realm of articulation corresponds to the language of tourism promotion (Dann, 1996a). Ancillary qualitative techniques might include the analyses of photographs taken by tourists (Chalfen, 1979; Markwell, 1997; O'Barr, 1994) or the content of their conversations (Fjellman, 1992; Ryan, 1995a). After all, word-of-mouth communication, a source for tourist decision-taking so frequently identified, yet so rarely investigated (Reid and Reid, 1993), is surely a vital component of the language of tourism.

Satisfaction is another hardy perennial and crucial dimension of the tourist experience (Ryan, 1995b). Examined quantitatively, it might simply comprise a numerical evaluation of various features of a holiday as they related to the service offered by its components travel, accommodation, activities, etc., that is to say, elements identified by the tourism industry as being important.

However, as Moore (1997, p.14) has noted, the complexity and subtleties of the tourist experience cannot be adequately captured by satisfaction scales and questionnaires since the latter two techniques 'do not generally sit well with ambivalence, confusion or unease'. In fact, he adds, 'qualitative methods may be our only foothold into this area of interest.' Furthermore, there is the acknowledged difficulty of conducting cross-cultural studies in this domain (the Japanese, for example are often found to be reluctant in voicing that criticisms to interviewers (Pizam, 1993)), just as there is the additional problem of uniformity and meaningfully quantifying what are essentially qualitative experiences. Alternative qualitative approaches might usefully encompass the study of positive and negative stories told (Jackson *et al.* 1996; Pearce, 1991) or written down (Small, 1999) by tourists, an examination of the diaries that they complete at the destination (Laws, 1998), the letters or postcards that they send home (Mellinger, 1994; Phillips, 1996), the complaints that they make to the authorities (Pearce and Moscardo, 1984) or to newspaper ombudsmen (Hannigan, 1980) and those they inscribe in visitor books or, *via* 'systematic lurking' (Dann *et al.*, 1988, p. 25), overheard conversations conducted among themselves (Fjellman, 1992; Hanefors, 1994). In extreme situations, one might even wish to include tourist graffiti (Pearce and Moscardo, 1984) as indicators of utter dissatisfaction with a place which can act as warnings to fellow travellers, as one of us has found, for example in the dire inscriptions adorning the toilet walls of Panama's central bus station (Dann, 1978, p. 43).

Imagery, too, is an area replete with possibility for qualitative tourism

researchers, particularly those who accept the theoretical position that tourism is very much a postmodern phenomenon (Fjellman, 1992). Here, brochures, travelogues, advertisements and related publicity material come into their own, especially where they are open to different interpretation and readings (Dann, 1998a; Selwyn, 1993). More specifically, it is clearly both interesting and important to discover how destination people are portrayed (Dann, 1996b, either pictorially (Albers and James, 1988; Edwards, 1996) or textually (Dann, 1996c). On the other side of the coin, though comparatively neglected, are the various ways in which tourists are perceived by members of a host society. In this respect, there has been some innovative work on school children's drawings (Gamradt, 1995) and essays (Crick, 1989b; 1993). Such research is all the more fascinating with the appreciation that there is a greater methodological likelihood of obtaining less distorted versions of reality from uninhibited youngsters than are typically acquired from more cynical adults.

As to the actual behaviour of tourists, this facet of the vacational experience is strangely only occasionally monitored *via* the richly rewarding use of unobtrusive measures (Pizam, 1993; cf. Webb *et al.*, 1966). More frequently, however, it is grasped through participant (Foster, 1986; Hanefors, 1994) and non-participant (Hartmann, 1988; Keul and Kuhberger, 1997) observational studies, sometimes in tandem with interviews (Bruner, 1994) which seek to capture respondents' explanations for their actions. Tours, for instance, are often joined by researchers (Fine and Speer, 1985; Seaton, forthcoming) in order to gauge reaction to 'sight sacralization' (MacCannell, 1989) and the selective way that history is interpreted by guides (Dahles, 1996; Katriel, 1994; Selwyn, 1996b). Geographers, in particular, are interested in touristic involvement with space and, in this regard, there have been several studies on cognitive mapping (Pearce, 1977; Walmesley and Jenkins, 1992). There has also been the odd ethnomethodological experiment which, *via* zany, candid camera type situations, has looked at the manner in which tourists live up to commonly held, though often incorrectly assumed, national stereotypes (Independent Television, 1998).

The list of topics is surely as endless as the fertile imagination of the researcher (Mills, 1959). The rather elementary point being made here, however, is that much of this creative research is more appropriately tackled by qualitative techniques than by pedestrian, quantitative methods.

The Major Advantages of Qualitative Tourism Research

Returning once more to the earlier observation that research is only successful to the extent that it blends methodological sophistication with theoretical awareness (Dann *et al.*, 1988). Perhaps the greatest advantage of qualitative methods is that they 'are particularly useful in theory construction', for exploring relationships and concepts rather than verifying existing hypotheses (Laws, 1998, p. 549), and in filling gaps in theory) Dooley, 1984, p. 268). Consequently, some argue (e.g. Peterson, 1987) that qualitative research is more suited to pilot investigations, the unstated implication being that quantitative methods will assume the senior role in the subsequent conducting of large sample surveys.

However, this rather limited view has been challenged by others (Jordan, 1997,

p. 528) who argue that, since qualitative methods frequently yield more valued information than the reliable data typically yielded by quantitative techniques, they often can and should replace them. The crux of the matter thus turns on the importance attached to truth content or achieving what a study sets out to obtain, rather than the collection of similar responses to like stimuli.

In relation to the research process itself, qualitative methods may also be beneficial in gaining access to the field, particularly to 'hidden populations' who are perceived as deviant, carry a social stigma or represent 'a problem' to the host society (van Meter, 1990). A tourism example might include research conducted on bar girls in Thailand (Cohen, 1982; Phillips, 1996; Phillips and Dann, 1998). It would be patently quite meaningless to pass out questionnaires to these disadvantaged and marginalized young women, just as it would be to carry out a sample survey of drug users within a given destination population. Yet, the gradual establishment of necessary rapport can lead to the fruitful application of such qualitative techniques as conversation sampling and the analysis of correspondence. Relatedly, qualitative methods may be more appropriate for the examination of delicate topics. Jordan (1997), for instance, finds that discriminatory practices in tourism employment are far better handled through a small number of in-depth interviews than ever they might be *via* mailed questionnaires or a telephone survey. A similar conclusion could be reached regarding studies which seek to investigate questions of respondent identity. Rather than imposing a given theory on the subjects of investigation and then attempting to confirm or invalidate it, *via* qualitative methods, participant theory can be allowed to emerge through individual definitions of situations, an approach that is well suited to perspectives such as Symbolic Interactionism. This is the theoretical stance adopted by Phillips (forthcoming) and Karch and Dann (1981), for example in relation to the issue of black masculinity as experienced by beachboys in Barbados.

Just as meanings are culturally constructed and contested, so too are they respectively assimilated or rejected diachronically. While quantitative techniques are more geared towards producing one-off snapshots of attitudes and activities within a determined period, or even on a particular day, qualitative measures are more processually oriented. They are thus quite appropriate for many longitudinal studies which require a focus on mental and behavioural development. In this connection, Pearce's (1993) notion of a travel career comes to mind, as also investigations that explore residents' reactions to tourists as they change along the course of the resort cycle.

Since many qualitative methods plan to capture of the temporal dimension (and are therefore subject to the additional requirement of time sampling), it also follows that they can accumulate a greater depth of data than that customarily acquired *via* quantitative techniques based solely on sampling through space. Hence a simple 'yes' or 'no' answer obtained from the latter can be replaced by a greater sense of elaboration and distinction in the case of qualitative methods designed to trace evolution in thought. The ability to attain a more profound, and hence valid, level of meaning has acquired a number of designations from different qualitative researchers. Geertz (1973, p. 20), for instance, calls it 'thick description', while Denzin (1989, pp. 230-1) refers to it as 'sub-

versive reading', Fjellman (1992, p. 284) as 'deep reading', and semioticians, such as Barthes (1984, p. 114) and his disciples, as 'second order' or 'connoted meaning'. Whatever, the terminology, the underpinning approach is quite germane to the study of tourism promotion (Echtner, 1999) through diverse media (Dann, 1996a), as also to the various interpretations brought by different social actors to heritage attractions (Bruner, 1994).

Qualitative methods, too, since they are generally more freewheeling than quantitative techniques, are therefore more likely to alight upon instances of serendipity, unanticipated findings which may have the effect of modifying initial theory or even of refocusing an entire research project.

By the same token, qualitative methods by virtue of their greater revelatory power, may also more tellingly highlight signification omissions than can quantitative methods. For instance, Bhattacharyya (1997) has relatedly discovered that popular guidebooks on India make little reference to the ordinary working lives of that country's inhabitants, and Urry (1990) claims that most of the pictorial content of tour operator brochures targeted at the British mass market tends to omit black persons, the elderly and those with physical disabilities. More ominously, perhaps, where particular groups are left out of a presentation (e.g. children in the publicity of some all-inclusive resorts), their significant omission may act as a covert form of social control, the message being that, if young couples really wish to enjoy themselves on holiday while in the company of fellow hedonists they would be well advised to leave their tiresome offspring at home (Dann, 1996a). Qualitative methods tend to pick up these invisibles if only because the latter are incapable of discovery by the standardized anticipation of all outcomes so emblematic of quantitative techniques.

A State-of-the-Art Model of Qualitative Tourism Research

In outlining an agenda that goes beyond the provision of mere typologies, Cohen (1988, p. 43) has proposed a tourism research programme 'which would simultaneously take account of and compare the tourist's psychological needs and experiences, the socio-cultural features, of tourist settings and the cultural symbols expressed in the touristic process.'

If these four basic elements are respectively translated into the main themes of motivation, satisfaction, impact/interaction and images of promotional communication (i.e., the essential ingredients of the field of tourism), and if they are further cross-tabulated with the principal players of contemporary tourism (tourists, the tourism industry and touries (van den Bergh, 1994), then Table 11.1 is yielded.

Here, it can be readily noted that cells 3,5 and 9 are empty, indicating virtual absence of research in these areas. The remaining nine include typical examples of sources and techniques employed. Four of these cells (1,2,8 and 11) illustrate that many studies have been conducted. The other five (4,6,7,10 and 12) show that, whereas, some research has been carried out, there is still plenty of room for expansion.

Working round the left-hand side of the model, it can easily be seen how the motivation and satisfaction of tourists, service providers and locals are typically researched,

underresearched or not researched as the case may be, and, if the former, the ways in which they are frequently explored (cf. section 2). The righthand side of the model is slightly more complex since it incorporates an interactive dimension which comprises all three principal players. The third column relating to such interaction reveals that, whereas, there are numerous (ethnographical) inquiries which explore the impact of tourists and tourism on the lives of destination people and a few that examine the impact of tourism on industry personnel, apart from one or two early studies of xenophobia, stereotyping and the acquisition of cultural knowledge through interaction with hosts, there is practically nothing of a contemporary nature which investigates the effects on tourists resulting from their interaction with either industry personnel or with other members of the host society. Nor for that matter, and to the best of our knowledge, is there anything comprehensive and significant that has systematically examined the sociocultural consequences of tourists mixing with each other. Turning to the last column, it may be observed that the domain of communication through images (both pictorial and verbal) is very much the preserve of the industry as it seeks to portray both tourists and tourees (and very occasionally itself), and how this emphasis on *ego* and *alter* is reflected in the corresponding amounts of research conducted. Less work, by contrast, has been devoted to the images held by tourists of themselves, service providers and locals (although the last situation is certainly changing), and even fewer inquiries have been carried out on residents' perceptions of the visitors in their midst.

TABLE 11.1 Qualitative Tourism Research: a state-of-the-art model

	<i>Psychological Needs and Experiences</i>		<i>Sociocultural Features</i>	<i>Cultural Symbols/Images</i>
<i>Principal players</i>	<i>Motivation</i>	<i>Satisfaction</i>	<i>Impact/ Interaction</i>	<i>Communication</i>
<i>Tourist</i>	1. Reaction to Promotion Conversations Photographs	2 Stories Diaries Conversations Graffiti	3	4 Internalization of Industry Images Photographs
<i>Tourism Industry</i>	5	6 Interviews of Employees	7 Observation	8 On-site Guides Off-site Promotion (brochures, videos, advertisements, television, etc.)
<i>Tourees</i>	9	10 Attitude Studies Interviews	11 Interviews Observation Newspapers Archival Research	12 Essays Drawings (of children)

The model may therefore be considered useful to the degree that, not only does it provide a state-of-the-art appraisal of what has taken place in the last three decades of the twentieth century, but perhaps more importantly in points to gaps in incipient and cumulative knowledge, areas which may become more salient in the years ahead. It is this future outlook which constitutes the remainder of this brief presentation.

Prospects of Qualitative Tourism Research for the Future

Although vacant cells in the model point to possible avenues of ulterior investigation, awareness of such gaps is not in itself a necessary or sufficient condition for their subsequent completion. There is an additional requirement for the willing acceptance of a proactive standpoint, along with the implications that such a position entails.

Elsewhere (Dann, 1999), and in greater detail, it has been argued that the future directions of tourism research reside in the adoption of one or more of three identified approaches—those of Toffler, Simmel and what has been termed ‘openended work’. The first, epitomized in the writings of Hawkins (1993) and Ritchie (1993), typically employs variations of the Delphi technique to point to the probability and importance of events thought likely to affect tourism in the years ahead. The second emphasizes the perennial forms of tourist behaviour. By very definition, these essential qualities of strangerhood are time-transcendent and hence applicable as much to the future as to the past or present. The third approach focuses on ‘areas for further research’ which individuals typically highlight after reporting the results of their studies. After contextualizing their research problem (by way of a literature review of the past), they attempt to show how they have currently advanced the situation theoretically and methodological in an original fashion. At the same time they often acknowledge that present progress (or lack or progress) in turn leads to a further set of unanswered questions which they and others may wish to tackle in subsequent projects, projects that are literally projected from the present into the future. There are many ways of flagging their agenda and several have been identified under the headings of ‘blind alleys’, ‘self-appropriation’, ‘reversing conventional wisdom’, ‘concept stretching’, ‘scope broadening’, ‘breaking out of the case,’ ‘resolving paradoxes’ and ‘establishing new linkages’ (Dann, 1999).

However, what has not been sufficiently emphasized is that, whichever of the three approaches is adopted, they are separately and collectively highly conducive to the qualitative treatment of research topics. For instance, if the Toffler approach is followed, it is clear that several of the changes identified by Ritchie (1993) and Hawkins (1993) will need qualitative investigation. Take, for example, the highly significant areas of resident responsive tourism, global lifestyles, developments in the field of health technological innovation, socio-political arrangements, the preservation of heritage in the face of competing demand for natural resources, even the apparently simple questions of alteration in work patterns and gendered roles. All of these extremely likely occurrences will have greater or lesser impacts on tourists, destination people and the tourism industry of tomorrow. However, and more pertinent to the current argument, is the realization that every one of these topics requires qualitative treatment if it is to be satisfactorily explored, since each relates to life quality, surely a more important issue than the quanti-

fiable standard of living.

Or again, if a Simmelian perspective is adopted, there are many areas ripe for investigation which derive from tourism as a form of strangerhood. The phenomenon of increasing urbanization, for instance, captured so tellingly in Simmel's (1950) essay on the metropolis, and a theme eminently appropriate to a study of future tourism trends, would additionally benefit from the qualitative examination of such related phenomena as attitudes to time, secrecy, friendship, authority and so on. Above all, there would be the ever-growing need to explore the corresponding reduction in freedom of generating societies as a unique condition for the expansion of tourism (Dann, 1997). Such a topic cannot be adequately tackled by asking respondents to complete the boxes of Likert scales seeking to measure degrees of authoritarianism. However, it can be dealt with more satisfactorily by using several qualitative techniques ranging from in depth interviews to projectives tests.

Finally, qualitative research is particularly appropriate to 'open-ended work'. In this regard, Lanfant (1995), for example, has argued that tourism academics should abandon such traditional and ethnocentric research props as conspicuous consumption, democratization, search for escape and, Selwyn (1996a) would add, the authenticity framework. Instead of leaning of these etic excuses for intellectual inertia, they should adopt an emic approach that allows the principal players to speak of their own situations within the context of tourism's increasingly becoming an international social fact. By taking the role of insider, and by allowing the voice of the silent Other to be heard (as Crick, 1994, has so convincingly argued), it not only suggests a qualitative approach: it demands one.

A parallel reversal of the conventional wisdom associated with 'closed work' can similarly lead to new lines of inquiry. The querying of the 'tourism as an agent of peace' rhetoric (Crick, 1989a), can lend support to those who investigate the increasingly close connection between tourism and war (Seaton, 1999; Smith, 1998), as well as to those who have relatedly identified 'dark tourism' as one of the most rapidly developing forms of tourism today and tomorrow (Dann, 1998b; Foley and Lennon, 1999; Seaton, 1996). Yet, a fascination with violent death and its emergence in a variety of tourist attractions can only be adequately tackled from a qualitative position. Seaton (forthcoming), for example, only became fully aware of the multiple ways that different types of visitors obtained diverse meanings from their patronizing battleground sites by actually joining one such tour group. In a like fashion, Hanefors (1994) only really discovered the utter dependency displayed by Swedish tourists on their courier by participating in a coach trip through Bulgaria and by listening to their conversations and interactive discussions. Had she just handed out office-generated questionnaires to her subjects as they stepped off the vehicle, she might have missed this important point altogether.

Conclusion

Arguing in a more general context, Berg (1989, p. 145) has suggested that:

Qualitative methods...can result in either improved social scientific understanding or in meaningless gibberish.

In relation to qualitative tourism research, the preceding account endorses this appraisal. It has attempted to show that there are manifold opportunities for applying qualitative methods to the multifaceted, multimedia phenomenon of tourism. Moreover, for several of the identified topics, qualitative techniques have a unique contribution to make towards comprehending their trans-subjective nature. They cannot be adequately tackled by solely resorting to so called objective, standardized statistical treatments imposed from outside. Nor is their importance sufficiently recognized if their various themes are simply regarded as constituting ancillary and mildly interesting issues to be explored in the preliminary stages of an inquiry rather than as research questions in their own right which should legitimately occupy an entire investigation.

However, this account, while agreeing with Berg's evaluation, has not fully examined the implications of his stark alternatives. Unlike Dann *et al.* (1988), who upset some people at the time by highlighting the weaknesses of researchers who overrelied on theory at the expense of method (the armchair types who shied away from the empirical testing of their ideas), placed too much emphasis on statistical techniques to the detriment of insight (the number crunching bridge) or, worse still, those whose work was lacking in both theoretical awareness and methodological sophistication (the collectors and disseminators of anecdotal material)—all of whom could be accused of being research deficient, it not actually producers of gibberish—this presentation has tried to focus on qualitative research that has managed to achieve a happy blend of theory and method.

Even so, and in spite of the several illustrative examples provided, a fuller evaluation of their worth has not been undertaken and still needs to be judged against the canons of the disciplines they claim to represent. Since tourism is still a field rather than a discipline, it is the application of theory and method germane to the specific social scientific discipline under which tourism is studied that must be assessed. This outstanding requirement is clearly easier to fulfil in the case of well-established disciplines within the social sciences (*e.g.* anthropology, psychology and sociology) than for later arrivals on the scene (*e.g.*, business studies, marketing and management).

As a corollary to this last point, and in spite of (as well as because of) an evident increase in qualitative tourism research, it is easy to predict a very real problem ahead for those who still adhere to quantitative methodologies and who wish to publish the results of their investigations. Recently, one of the leading journals in the field, *Annals of Tourism Research*, has let it be known that it will only be considering for publication articles that are social science based and do not rely on statistical techniques. While the first condition is quite in keeping with *Annals'* 'statement of purpose', the second, being an additional requirement, would seem to indicate that journal's awareness of and preference for the growing importance of qualitative methods in the social sciences. Faced with such rejection, potential authors favouring quantitative methods will thus be obliged to turn to alternative outlets for the publication of their material, a situation which could result in (if it has not already led to) a two-tier system of journals and even creeping elitism within the tourism academic community.

The full irony of such a state of affairs only becomes apparent with the realization

that many contributors to tourism journals operate under a ranking system (such as the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) in the United Kingdom) whereby, for the purpose of allocating quantities of government research funds to departments which have done measurably well, the quality of peer-reviewed journals is quantitatively assessed. However, an outlet such as *Annals of Tourism Research*, which currently receives a maximum score on the 5-point scale, would probably find such a rating procedure anathema. Instead, it would justifiably observe that, since academic papers in tourism can vary in quality even in the same issue of a quality journal, they should rather be evaluated on their innovative contribution to knowledge, *i.e.* their theoretical and methodological content—a criterion which is actually contained in the instructions to RAE inspectors, but one which is rarely applied (Cooper and Otley, 1998, p. 86).

We have thus surely reached a stage on entering the twenty-first century where the vicious circle given by the equation: quantitative research + quantitatively assessed publications = more funding for quantitative research, has to be seriously questioned and recast to reflect current reality. Just as tourism itself is not simply a numerical phenomenon whose success is solely measured in terms of body counts through destinational turnstiles, so too will a greater appreciation of tourism's qualitative attributes lead to parallel advances in their qualitative treatment.

Tourist Behaviour Research—The Role of ‘I’ and Neural Networks

Introduction

The original brief for this chapter was to write something about future directions of tourism research. After some thought, I have to admit to being defeated! So, this chapter is an attempt to draw together two themes—one that has been recently to the fore in the considerations of tourism researchers while the second has just begun to make its presence felt. Thus this chapter falls primarily into three parts. First, it discusses the issue of subjectivity within tourism research, arguing that subjectivity is equally part of both the tourism experience and the research process, even within those studies that may be classified as positivistic. Second, the chapter will review that part of artificial intelligence research that is beginning to make its presence known in the tourism research literature, namely the use of neural networks. Finally, it will muse about whether any relationship actually exists between these disparate subjects, and whether there is value in the topic as a future research direction.

Within tourism research, as in other disciplines, a debate has occurred about the nature of the subject as a discipline, and associated with this, a discussion about pertinent research methodologies. For example, Walle briefly reviews issues about the emic and etic within anthropological approaches to tourism, and writes of how ‘scholars in various disciplines have simultaneously attempted to reconcile the Achilles Heel of science with the heroic flaws of art’ (Walle, 1997, p. 525). In the 1998 and 1999 Conference of the Council of Australian Universities in Tourism and Hospitality Education, plenary sessions have debated paradigms of tourism following the terminology of Kuhn (1970). Philip Pearce is of the view that tourism is in a pre-paradigmatic state, while Bill Faulkner has sought a meta narratives that embrace different aspects of the subject in a multi-paradigmatic approach. It is my own view that the search for a paradigm is modernistic and not

entirely appropriate for a subject that exists, simultaneously, in pre modern, modern and postmodernistic worlds. However, I think all three of us would agree that it behaviours us as researchers to be well practised in the techniques we employ and to consider relationships between, and advantages and disadvantages of, each of the main approaches involved in social science research. There is an interest in research methodologies and paradigms, and this is amply illustrated by various special issues of the tourism and leisure journals which have contained articles or special issues on research methods and concepts (e.g. see D' Amore, 1997; Ryan and Faulkner, 1996). It is certainly true that the techniques used for analysing data are becoming more sophisticated, whether for example on cites Seddighi and Shearing (1997) and their use of co-integration in examining the demand for tourism in Northumbria, or in the semiotic analysis of a commentator like Hollinshead (1999) on the massing voices in the interpretation of the Alamo. It is also my suspicion that what is true of leisure studies is also true of tourism studies, namely that there is an increasing proportion of studies based upon qualitative research methods (Weissinger *et al.*, 1997).

It is in this spirit that this chapter attempts what may in fact be impossible, namely to seek an integration of qualitative and quantitative research methods, albeit from a narrow perspective. More precisely, it addresses issues of subjectivity. It begins by highlighting the role of subjectivity as the subject of research when considering tourist behaviours. It then argues that subjectivity is present on the part of the researcher through a process of reflection. Finally, it discusses how this process or reflection on part of both the research and the researcher might be approached through conventional quantitative means and it suggests that neural modelling might present one approach. It should be noted that I do not necessarily equate qualitative research with non-positivistic research. As I have argued (Ryan, 1999a), phenomenographic research can be located within a postpositivistic ontology an epistemology in that a consensus objectivity about the subject studied could be held to exist by the researcher who used such an approach.

Subjectivity in Tourism

It will be noted that, contrary to the tradition of social science espoused by, for example Jafar Jafari in his guidelines to contributors to *Annals of Tourism*, I have used the personal pronoun, 'I'. This is because this paper is a personal examination of the subject, and thus in terms of its integrity, the use of the personal pronoun appears justified. This usage within a culture of research, informed by work within Maoridom, will be commented upon below. Further, I must admit to, at times, agreeing with Stoller when, at the end of his study of pornography, he wrote:

With more hope that human behaviour will become less malignant if we all get insight—where id was, there shall ego be?—I could enthuse that the search to understand is wonderful, and, piling on one last cliché, to agree: yes, Virginia, there is a Santa Clause.

No such luck. Logic is an idiot's delight. (Stoller, 1991, p. 226)

Given the traditional linkage between tourism and sex wherein the latter is the fourth 'S', it is surely not too fanciful to conclude that parallels exist between tourism and

prostitution. Tourism is about fantasy, relaxation, the exotic if not erotic, and is often concerned, at an individual level, with id and ego if not hedonism. Whether environment and culture are prostituted for economics is a judgement that some other writers may wish to make. Hence I will argue that Stoller's observation is pertinent to tourism, and that its imperative has been recognized by other writers and commentators. 'Logic as an idiot's delight' thus has implications for the process of research as well as that which is researched. It can be objected that in business one might think that logic would be the dominant domain—but how then does one explain the nature of the British mass package holiday industry which at varying periods has taught its clientele to book late, to make judgements based on the lowest price and which has been characterized by low profit margins and varying fortunes as, on more than one occasion, the then second largest company has been bankrupted. Again, politicians seek to obtain mega-events and on occasions have left their cities with debts and excessive hotel capacity that has taken years to be removed. Hall (1992, 1994, 1997) has explained the love affair of politicians with mega-events as a search for simplicity—mega-events have a defined start and end when so much else is confusion and doubt. One might conclude that logic seems but one competing voice amongst claims of nationalism, image, feel-good factors, think big scenarios and other like factors. And, of course, one can be totally logical in argument when proceeding from a flawed initial assumption.

Subjectivity (And Values) in Tourism Research

Does such an observation apply to tourism research? Learning about 'things', about the phenomenon that is termed tourism, is to learn not only about the multiplicity of voices belonging to the stakeholders directly involved in tourism but also other things. I can identify at least three forms of learning which are involved in tourism research. First, hopefully, something is learnt about the subject of study. Second, something is learnt about the process of learning itself, or at least about the research methodology that is being used. Finally, albeit perhaps more slowly, something is learnt about oneself. For example, in his study about tourists on a guided tour, Bruner observed that:

My double role as a tour guide serving tourists, and as an ethnographer studying them, placed me in an interstitial position between touristic and ethnographic discourse, and I must admit that I had not been aware of the ambiguities of the position in which I placed myself. As ethnographer I wanted to learn how tourists experienced the sites, but as tour guide my task was to structure that experience...My talk mediated their experience and in a sense, I found myself studying myself. (Bruner, 1995, p. 230)

It would be my contention that such processes of learning of self are not restricted to ethnographic research, although it is in such research processes that I have had to grapple most intimately with the complexities of 'truths' observed, revealed and hinted at in the process of research. In 1999 a co-participant and I wrote in a paper relating to sex tourism:

The past and current involvement of the writers as friends, and as stripper and observer, mean their view is that of insider and outside, but above all are the views of participants. The act of participation is the source of the validity of the views

expressed, and as the boundary, which limit the meaning of those views. (Ryan and Martin, 1999, p. 200)

This view implicitly argues that the stance adopted was not that of positivism, postpositivism and nor was it that of critical theory. Rather it, at best, viewed research as an attempt to construct a text from the observed situation. Such constructions underlie, I would contend, all research efforts, including studies often categorized as empirical and positivistic. For example, a significant theme within the stream of literature relating to tourist motivations and behaviours is dependent upon various forms of psychometric testing, although subject to the caveat that rarely have the testers sought to utilize the personality tests devised by psychologists like Eynsenck or Cattell (Jackson *et al.*, 1999). Yet tourism, services marketing and leisure studies have their own equivalents, much cited and subjected to testing in order to ensure that the results of the original researchers can be replicated. Such examples would include the SERVQUAL instrument of Parasuraman, Zeithaml and Berry (1985, 1988, 1994a, 1994b), the Leisure Motivation Scale of Beard and Regheb (1980, 1983), Plog's (1977, 1990) tests for allocentricism and psychocentrism and, arguably, Philip Pearce's Travel Career Scale (Pearce, 1988, 1991, 1993, 1996; Ryan 1998), to mention but four. Each has given rise to a significant research output as researchers have sought to replicate this instruments, the dimensions and the findings with varying degrees of success. Yet, I long ago formed a conclusion that in many instances what the application of such scales did was simply to assess the consistency of response of the respondent. For example, if the item 'The travel agency will have up-to-date equipment and technology' correlated highly with the item 'The physical facilities at the travel agency will be visually appealing' on a SERVQUAL scale, then it should be of no surprise to learn that a factor analysis would identify a dimension, which in this case was labelled 'Tangibles' (Ryan and Cliff, 1997). I suspect that in most instances respondents would tend to provide similar scores on these items when considering a specific service situation, and in some senses the more interesting research conundrum would be if respondents did not so answer.

When it is further considered that such scales use items that are known to discriminate most powerfully between groups of respondents and patterns of response, then the underlying tendency to high correlation and the identification of a factor is emphasized even more. So, for example if we found in a tourism situation a group of tourists who did not attach importance to tangible components and another group that did, the former would score the tangible items of the SERVQUAL scale quite lowly while the latter would score the items highly. Correlation between the different items that comprise the tangibles dimension of the SERVQUAL scale would thus be high and the factor easily ascertained using factor analysis commands on statistical software. Additionally, an application of cluster analysis commands would reveal that the total sample could be clearly divided into sub-samples, that, using t-tests or ANOVA, possess differences in mean scores that are 'statistically significant'. This process would be regarded as being of use because it confirmed the SERVQUAL scale and provided marketing information as to the size of niche markets. The process would also be satisfying to the researcher for the same reasons. Equally this exercise would remain mute about the more interesting and possibly

more 'real' research issues.

The 'real' replication research questions which need to be examined are those that are rarely undertaken. In the instances cited above, the original researchers undertook many hours of prior research before constructing their scales. Focus groups were held to aid the identification of key themes. Long lists of questions were formulated and tested on colleagues, used in piloted studies and then finally reduced in number to form the scales with which we are familiar. Underlying these procedures are several acts of interpretation. The respondents' interpretation of the items with which they were faced, the researchers' interpretation of and classification of comments made in focus groups and, of course, the interpretation of the statistics. Once past basic descriptive statistics, the interpretation of such data involves value judgements based upon experience. What constitute outliers? Which number of clusters most clearly represents a summary of attitudes? Tests like Cronbach's alpha, the citing of eigenvalues and wrightings—in many cases these are used to buttress the decision to select a choice from competing alternatives thought to be less optimal. In the case of mathematical modelling of attitudes through the use of techniques like linear structural equations (Lisrel), the value judgements of the researcher become even more clear in the process if not in the reporting of the findings (Reisinger and Turner, 1999). Throughout this process of modelling relationships the researcher is making value judgements about whether the results are true to the patterns of response—do they make 'sense'? I suspect there have certainly been many unreported instances where, when using atheoretical 'ad hoc' instruments such analyses do produce factors for which we use the time-honoured phrase—'the resulting factor was difficult to interpret'.

Therefore, it can be argued, the 'real' replication of the scales being used lies not in the application of the scales to a sample and a replication of statistically defined factors, but in an attempt to replicate the emergence of dimensions through focus group work. Would replication of the processes of focus groups, repeating testing of the wording of items with colleagues—would all of these things lead to the same questions being used to construct a scale that sought to measure the same things? One suspect 'no' from such work as that of Robson and Wardle (1988) (who analysed the impact of the presence of an observer on a focus group), but equally I am not sure if in one sense it would matter overmuch.

Why this comment? Taking as an example the research undertaken by academics into the motivations of tourists, it is easy to be critical when adopting the stance of a company wishing to understand their clientele better. Unless our samples are derived from national tourist organizations, many samples, particularly by academic researchers outside of the United States, are comparatively small. Some are atheoretical. This latter criticism might be made also of the large samples used by national tourist organizations. For example, the research commissioned jointly by the New Zealand Tourism Board and the Australian Tourist Commission into the attitudes of Asian markets (*e.g.* New Zealand Tourism Board, 1992) towards those two countries contained long checklists of what were thought to be important. However, the study did not incorporate a structured view of measurement attitude, for example that associated with Fishbein and the importance

evaluation approach (e.g. Vaske *et al.*, 1996). Academic researchers in this area are not immune from criticism. As noted they have not sought replication, either in terms of longitudinal studies or of specific research tools (Pearce, D., 1993). But yet! There is a commonality that, to my mind, has emerged. Tourists wish to relax, to have time with their families, to learn, to see new places, to have 'adventures'—these and similar motivations emerge time and time again. It might be said that it did not need much research to discover this. But of course the issue is the context within which these motivations arise, the importance of each motive to which groups of people under what conditions and, from the psychologist's viewpoint, how the satisfaction of these motives is incorporated into self-concepts and modes of current and future behaviour. The practical outcome is the design of better tourism products at the site or activity level. In short, I am arguing that the possible importance of any research is the context within which it is undertaken. However, these contexts are often specific to place, activity, time and people—and thus while comparisons inform, we need continually to monitor to understand better how these variables of place, activity, time and people influence the generality of results that may be found. But is the researcher part of the context?

Schechner wrote of ritualistic events that:

A person sees the event: he sees himself seeing the event; he sees himself seeing others who are seeing the event and who, may be, see themselves seeing the event. Thus there is the performance, the performers, the spectators; and the spectator of the spectators; and the self-seeing self that can be performer or spectator or spectator of spectators. (Schechner, 1982, p. 297)

I have often felt that is true of the researcher: It is true of quantitative research as well as more ethnographic research. In 1996 and again in 1997 a colleague, Dr. Jeremy Huyton, and I, sat at various locations in the Northern Territory of Australia waiting for potential respondents to complete our questionnaires. While the results have been quantitative studies involving techniques like cluster analysis and Lisrel (Ryan and Huyton, 1998, 1990, none the less we performed a ritual role of introducing ourselves, explaining the research, leaving questionnaires with respondents, collecting questionnaires, thanking people, listening to their comments, making notes. We performed, a performance legitimized, may, enhanced, by the use of our university status to persuade people to complete a long questionnaire. But as performers we were also spectators as we watched people complete the forms, discuss issues with their partners and perhaps look at their watches as they realized it just might take a little longer than they at first imagined.

But as performers in the research process we brought with us our past experiences, and our subjectivities. Accordingly, to speak and write of participation in the research process requires a revelation of self—as I say to my students, it is necessary to be aware of the 'bees in the bonnet' of the researcher if we are to make sense of the findings. Within the tradition of Western academic, writing a statement of self is generally not deemed appropriate, but it is of interest of note that this is changing. Again, to cite Stoller:

It is obvious that one's observations are not the same as reality (whatever that is) but are only one's private versions of reality that the person observing the

observer—such as the reader—needs also to know about the observer in the hope that biases can be understood; that what we publicly present of our data is shaped by our personalities and by who we imagine our audience to be; that it is less shameful to admit than ignore prejudices, for with the admission, the reader at least has a way to judge what we say...Data are conditional; a fact is not a fact without being a fantasy. (Stoller, 1991, p. 4)

Thus, in the field of tourism research, Dann clearly admitted his preference when discussing theoretical constructs of tourism. He wrote:

One's own point of view lies closest to the intermediary group, because it is based on the premise that eclecticism is the most viable approach towards theory in general, and tourism, theory in particular. (Dann, 1998, p. 3).

Dann introduces in his article a number of personal observations. That for example, postmodernity is epitomized by and perhaps coincides with the life and times of 'The King', Elvis Presley. The King lives on in simulcra, record sales and visitor numbers to Graceland (Dann, 1998, p. 2). Yet Graham is still constrained by an academic tradition where the 'I' is 'One' and the use of the passive voice is de rigueur. Other cultures do not have this problem. Living now in New Zealand I am only too aware that when Maori stand to speak, they commence with a recitation of their *whakapapa*. This term is generally translated as a statement of genealogy, but it is more than that. It is a statement of identity through the people and land with which the individual identifies, and thereby the link between the speaker and the past and generations yet to come is established.

So what is my *whakapapa* in my view of tourism research? I have come to realize that my views of tourism were shaped by a childhood spent on the beaches of the Gower Peninsula in South Wales where and when the writings of Dylan Thomas described an everyday experience to which I could easily relate. Yet, although born there, because my parents moved to Croydon to the south of London, these experiences repeated through childhood summers when I visited my grandmother meant that I was a but a visitor in a country with which I strongly identified. Now, when I visit my mother who returned many years ago to the Mumbles, I am still a stranger. During the period of my youth the motorways were built and what were deserted roads and beaches became filled with adenoidal accents of Brummies and others. I saw Dick Butler's Tourist Life Cycle Theory being re-enacted before my eyes before I had heard of either the theory or Dick. Add to this the fact of being brought up a Catholic in a land of Methodist chapels, and it can be seen that the role of *flâneur* was one that came easily to me. It is a role that also suited me initially as a researcher.

So, does this influence me when I am engaged in quantitative research that might be thought to be immune from such considerations? Let me return to my example of our laying in wait for respondents in the Northern Territory. During this time Jeremy and I observed and we became infused with the nature of the place. For several days we passed by the exhibits at Uluru-Kata Tjuta Cultural Centre and observed the interactions of tourists with Aboriginal people who gave displays. We saw and partook to some extent, of the activities in which tourists engage. And we heard the stories of people who wished to

bend our ears. Was this all without influence? It is difficult to say 'no'. It is equally difficult to say 'yes'. We don't know is the answer. But how could this influence the calculations of statistical evidence? Let us consider the processes of multivariate analysis. As anyone knows who has undertaken factor and cluster analysis, there comes a time when a decision is made as to the numbers of clusters and factors thought to exist. Is this purely an objective exercise? To cite Everitt and Dunn when they discuss principal component analysis in their book, *Applied Multivariate Data Analysis*,

It must be emphasised that no mathematical method is, or could be, designed to give physically meaningful results. If a mathematical expression of this sort has an obvious physical meaning, it must be attributed to lucky chance, or to the fact that the data have a strongly marked structure that shows up in the analysis. Even in the latter case, quite small sampling fluctuations can upset the interpretation; for example the first-two principal components may appear in reverse order, or may become confused altogether. *Reification, then, requires considerable skill and experience if it is to give a true picture of the physical meaning of the data.* (Everitt and Dunn, 1991, pp. 53-4; my italics)

Yet for Kline, reification is a potential error to be avoided. He notes that just because a latent variable is assigned a particular label, it 'does not mean that the hypothetical construct is understood or even correctly named' (Kline, 1998, p. 191). Kline continues that it must not be believed that the hypothetical construct must correspond to the real thing. However, if the latent hypothetical construct has no relationship with 'real' things, it may be asked, what is the value of the hypothesis?

The issue might arise as to whether, in our examination of the data, we unconsciously looked for clusters of visitors that matched our subjective perception of what visitors were doing. We have concluded from other work that visitors are not lay anthropologists, that many visitors who express an interest in Aboriginal culture do so within a context of their perceptions of what signifies 'The Outback' of Australia (Ryan and Huyton, 1999). It is a conclusion supported by other researchers (Murphy, 1997; Jenkins, 1998). Imagery is carried through into behavioural patterns. The perceptions that visitors possess, derived from whatever sources, are matched with their own motivations inclinations and the role of serendipity to form actions. And we the observers may interpret these actions through our own perceptual gaze. And, as observers in the discipline of tourism, we are caught within our own discipline's categories of who tourists are. Yet, as Dann and Cohen (1996) observe, the typologies are still heuristic, and that fact alone indicates that the sociology (and by implication I might argue) the study of tourism still lacks 'powerful theoretical and analytical equipment, [and] is still very much in its infancy' (Dann and Cohen, 1996, p. 303). Urry, however, offers the perspective that among the myths of sociology is one that as a discipline it actually possesses a 'unity, coherence and common tradition' (Urry, 1995, p. 33). Rather, argues Urry, it is parasitic and feeds off its neighbouring disciplines for its development. How much more is this true of tourism? Further, argues Urry (1995), the main characteristic of tourism is that from its origins of the social organization of travel born modernism, it adds an aesthetic reflexivity which goes beyond a cognitive and normative reflexivity associated with a Habermasian tradi-

tion (1979, 1981). Urry concludes

Travel and tourism thus transform the modern and postmodern subject. This has been shown with regard to new technologies of transportation, novel ways of socially organising travel, the growth of an aesthetic reflexivity, the development of interpretation' in the travel industry, changes in the nature of consumption, and the 'end of tourism' *per se*...Tourism is nowhere and yet everywhere. (Urry, 1995, p. 150)

Part of the reflexivity can be generated by the researcher asking questions. This was brought home forcibly to me with research undertaken by Palmer (1998) in Kakadu National Park in Northern Australia. The very fact of being asked whether exposure to an Aboriginal cultural centre actually changed respondents' views on Aboriginal land claims forced them to think more about what they had seen. The process of articulation of their previously unbidden thoughts had the unexpected by-product of enhancing the satisfaction derived from their visit.

Hence, given the potential nature of tourism as an experience of reflexivity, or 'reinterpretation' of what is viewed, the role of subjectivity becomes incorporated into the research process as the gaze of the researcher meets the gaze of the tourist. While I have characterized phenomenographic research as postpositivistic (Ryan, 1999a,) Dann and Cohen (1996) argued that the 'I-thou' relationship of phenomenology proved useful in examining changing guest-host encounters. The same might be said of tourist-researcher relationships. The research process can hence be modelled as one where the subjectivities of tourist experience and the reinterpretation of those subjectivities in subsequent recall by tourists meet the gaze of the researcher who brings his or her own subjectivities. These latter subjectivities are born of (a) experience of being a tourist themselves, (b) being a *flâneur*, (c) past experience of research, (d) commitment to producing 'results', (e) commitment to making 'sense' of the observed and (f) general life experience.

Of course, within the wider social sciences this debate is not new. Indeed, in a review of this script Dann commented that classical social theory would recognize that much of this debate is about values and not merely subjectivity as an abstract divorced from judgement. For example, in the early years of the twentieth century Weber specifically distinguished between existential and normative knowledge and noted that the scientific treatment of values judgements may not only understand and empathically analyze (*nacherleben*) the desired ends and the ideals which underlie them; it can also judge them critically' (1904/1993, p. 125).

Neural Networks—Mimic of the Human Brain

For those like myself used to generating research through quantitative techniques, the issue of subjectivity and its associated values poses a considerable challenge. Aware of subjectivity as the subject of the research, and the subjectivity of the research process, one can either treat that latter subjectivity as insidious, or as a source of illumination. On the other hand, perhaps what those based in qualitative research tradition have failed to appreciate is just how much quantitative researchers have sought to develop new modes of analysis as a development of neo-positivism (Maxim, 1999). These are many, and Russell

and Faulkner (1997, 1999) and McKercher (1999), for example, have drawn our attention to at least the conceptual if not the mathematical modelling of chaos theory as an aid to better understanding some aspects of tourism. This author has sought to use neural modelling in some aspects of his own research (e.g. Ryan, 1999b). Before assessing whether this is of help, let us first outline some facets of neural modelling.

Essentially neural modelling seeks to mimic the functioning of the human brain. Unlike techniques such as non-linear regression, neural networks do not require the *a priori* assumption of the functional form of the model (linear, first-order polynomial, logandmi *et cetera*). Unlike expert systems and fuzzy logic they do not require an elicitation of expert knowledge, which is particularly useful when large number of variables are being considered (Petri *et al.*, 1998). Neural networks, which may be described as a subset of the science of artificial intelligence, have been used in a range of applications. These include in outcomes of battles (Glovier, 1997), human performance undervarying conditions (Hedgepeth, 19995) and investment strategies (Cheng *et al.*, 1997). They have also been used to forecast tourist flows and behaviours (pattie and Synder, 1996; Law and Au, 2000).

Caudill and Butler (1990, pp. 7-8) list the characteristics of neural networks thus:

- a. simple processing elements (neurodes) communicate with each other through a rich set of interconnections;
- b. memories are represented by variable patterns of weighted neurodes in changing patterns of communication;
- c. neural networks are not programmed—they learn;
- d. operation are the functions of structures of connections, transfer functions or neurodes and learning laws;
- e. neural networks act as an associative memory; they can retrieve information from partially incorrect, noisy or incomplete cues;
- f. a neural network can generalize;
- g. a neural network is fault tolerant; it can continue as neurodes and connections become defective. It exhibits 'graceful degradation';
- h. a neural network acts as a processor for time-dependent spatial patterns;
- i. a neural network can be self-organizing.

An example of a network is shown in Figure 12.1. This includes two 'hidden layers' which might be said to represent the interface between information being received and subsequent behaviour. It represents a learning situation where the evidence of the past fourteen days is being used to predict behaviour in the next week. In forecasting visitor behaviour to National Parks in the United States, Pattie and Snyder (1996) noted that the fundamental components of such a model include:

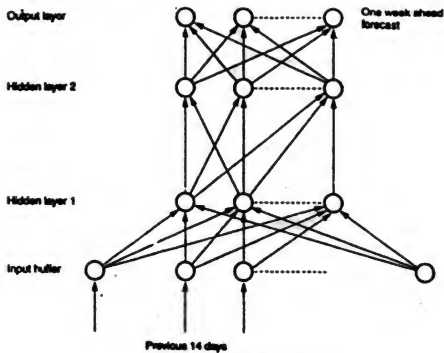


Figure 12.1 A neural network

- i the current processing element (node)
- j a processing element that i is connected to
- W_{ij} the weight connecting processing element j to processing element i
- X_j the output of the processing element from which the connection originates
- I_i the result of the summation function
- t_j threshold value
- F_{th} threshold function
- c_j error associated with element j
- LR learning rate
- d_j desired output for element j
- Y_j actual output of element j
- M momentum factor

The output of the j th neurode in any layer is described by a summation function (U_j the sum of inputs from the activated connecting neurodes) and an activation function (A_j strength of communication which rests on weighting and transfer functions). For every node, j in layer of each of the i inputs, X_i , to that layer is multiplied by a previously established weight, W_{ij} . These are all summed together i.e.

$$U_j = \sum (X_i W_{ij})$$

This function is then biased by a previously established threshold value so that

$$Y_j = F_{th}(U_j + t_j)$$

Caudill and Butler (1990), Pattie and Snyder (1996) and Law and Au (2000) are among the authors who note that in back-propagation algorithms the transfer or 'squashing' function often takes the form of a logistic or sigmoid curve which modifies the weighted sum of the input values to a reasonable sum before passing the signal onto the next layer, that is the slope of the transfer function is defined as the value of θ in the sigmoid/logistic activation function,

$$f(x) = 1/[1 + \exp(-x/\theta)]$$

If θ is low in value the slope value is steep, and thus it is common, as described by Pattie and Snyder (1996), to experiment with ranges of values.

As a technique there is a growing number of reports which show that it is superior to alternative statistical approaches. For example Jain and Nag (1997, p. 214) report that 'neural networks consistently outperform logit models in terms of predicative accuracy'. In tourism research Pattie and Snyder (1996, p. 162) reported that 'the research has found neural network models to be more accurate than five of the six traditional methods when forecasting visitor attendance'. Law and Au (2000) also concluded that a neural network outperforms multiple regression, naive, moving average and exponential models in forecasting the demand of Japanese tourists for visiting Hong Kong. However, they also point out that drawbacks exist with neural network modelling, one being its 'looser linkage to theory' (Law and Au, 2000, p. 92); in short, it might be argued that its very replication of the human brain engenders atheoretical modelling.

The Mimic and Subjectivity—A future?

Does artificial intelligence help us, as researchers, to understand better the nature of subjectivity if, as its proponents claim, it mimics the human brain? Is this a useful question to be considered? First, if it be thought that neural networks are too complex for researchers to use it must be noted that, just like statistical software, it runs on your desktop computer and examples of free software can be found on the Web, complete with demonstrations (e.g. <http://www.nd.com/>, the web site of Neuro Dimensions Inc). Second, Stebbins (1997, p. 422) has argued that leisure studies have been characterized by 'theoretical stagnation'. Is the same true of tourism research? It is difficult to identify the key theories of the subject. Stebbins (1997, p. 422) has argued there is a lack of exploration on the part of leisure researchers. He commented that

Leisure researchers as researcher have more in common with amateur and professional scientists than with casual leisure participants, which suggests that they should eschew accidental serendipity in favour of trying to discover their new ideas by systematically exploring leisure groups and activities.

Similarly tourism researchers are not just tourists, in the postmodern world generalization may be difficult, and an experience that is tied to context and place may make the emergence of abstracted models applicable to all places and activities difficult. Our exploration may be of the particular. Hence generalities may be of limited use, and construction of theory thus difficult. It depends upon what it is we wish to theorize about. If it is about the role of tourism in our society and thus the attraction of tourism, or if it is

about the identification of macroeconomic variables that determine tourist demand, then I think generalization, and thus model building, is possible. If, however, it is about the reaction of tourists to specific experiences, then generalization may be of limited use in developing management policies at site level. Yet it is often at site level that the interplay of enhancing visitor experience, improving environment, sustaining economic activity and social cohesiveness with all the management problems that are involved in seeking these ends is at its most urgent. Yet in many senses this simply describes a common social science situation—namely that there is a need for and a complementary role for both the specific and general.

Conceptual stagnation may also be associated with two contexts, the context of discovery and the context of justification. The context of discovery includes the technical modes of discovery, and thus the embracing of new methods of assessment can create new insights. Thus, if, therefore, neural networks can be demonstrated to possess superior predictive or interpretative capabilities than other statistical techniques, then we need to use them. If they help us to model tourist reactions to places by generating a 'black box' approach with which subjectivity is subsumed within an interplay of hidden constructs based on observed variables, then in might be said to simulate the subjective. De Ville (1996, p. 43) notes that 'Because neural predictive models are oriented to prediction, not explanation, it is usually difficult to examine the underlying dynamics'. Therein perhaps lies the nature of neural network modelling and subjectivity. as a quantitative researcher I am excited by the promise of the current generation of artificial intelligence software. As someone who spent considerable periods of time in ethnographic research, I still find the nuances of complex situations and the role of the researcher as a participant within those situations as ones characterized by the play of power. They are situations of often inconsistent context specific truths within which seeming chance is not unimportant. To encapsulate a human experience wherein, for all our cynicism, fantasies, dreams and the potential for catharsis none the less does exist (Dann, 1996; Lodge, 1991) requires a recognition of the subjective. Research into tourist behaviour is confusing—that's why it retains its interest. Neural modelling simulates this confusion. As a simulation it does not describe but, like much theory, it creates an abstraction of processes which permit an input-output relationship to be modelling, and thus permits prediction. If site specific prediction is required by management, herein lies in important use.

It would seem that we have a tourism research conundrum. On the one hand research into tourist behaviour involves an interaction of the researcher-researched relationship with its respective subjectivities. On the other hand, there exists a tool that can mimic an interesting conundrum and one that is not new, but yet may retain its importance as our research proceeds into a new century filled with touristic promise and developing research techniques. Finally back to my own subjectivity. It permits me to retain the role of *flâneur*—a man of the touristic crowd, but staying apart from it as I seek better to understand what tourism experiences are about within their different places.

13

The Resort Cycle Two Decades On

Introduction

The opportunity to revisit the resort cycle model (1980) and to comment on its continued relevance some two decades after its original publication is a task approached with some trepidation. To review one's own work is never easy, for one can all too easily perceive in it that which one wishes to see or imagines is explicit, while a reader approaching the material in a more objective fashion is more likely to see only that which is actually written. In modern-day academic literature it is extremely rare for any article to remain of interest and retain applicability for many years. Thus it is with some surprise that this writer continues to see the original article still referenced and applied in the current literature. It is not the intent in this chapter to discuss all of the applications of the model, subsequent modifications suggested for it and criticisms of the original paper. Other writers (Cooper, 1992; Prosser, 1995) have done such reviews in a comprehensive manner. Prosser, in particular, has written much of what this author would have been tempted to say, and it would be pointless to repeat or precis these earlier works. This chapter, therefore, represents a more personal discussion of the role and place of the model in tourism research, both now and in the future, rather than a full review of its use to date. The list of references includes only those works cited in the text. There are many more references not specifically cited which reflect the additional variety of ways and the frequency with which the model has been utilized over the past two decades. One element of the research literature which is conspicuously absent here is work undertaken using the model by students. Relatively little of this work makes its way into the 'official' literature in terms of journals or books, and most remains in the form of theses held in university libraries, which is unfortunate, as this body of research if it could be examined in its entirety might throw considerable light on those elements of the model still viewed as needing verification or modification.

Origins

The chapter begins with an introduction that covers the origins of the models,

followed by an examination of its critical elements, its current validity and future relevance. The resort cycle model as discussed here is, in fact, closer to three decades old than two. Its origins are based in the PhD work of the author and a colleague at Glasgow University in the mid-1960s, when both were examining tourism in Scotland. Pattison (1968) was studying the tourism industry in the Firth of Clyde (some 50 kilometres west of Glasgow), and this author tourism in the Scottish Highlands and Islands (Butler, 1973). At that time, in the United Kingdom as elsewhere, there was little research being undertaken on tourism at academic institutions and very little published research material. At the same time, it was becoming very apparent that the decade of the sixties was a period of considerable change in tourist destinations in a physical sense, and that these changes reflected major changes in the nature and scale of tourism itself and the tourism market.

In the context of tourism in Scotland, this period represented the end of one stage in the development of tourism in the Firth of Clyde. While one is often tempted to consider that changes taking place at the time of observation are more significant than changes that have gone before, there is no doubt that the decade of the sixties represented a very major change in tourism in this area. The old-style passenger steamers which were an integral part of the mass transport system of the area, closely integrated with the railways, were disappearing and being replaced by modern roll-on roll-off car ferries. This innovation reflected the increasing use of the car by tourists to this area and to Scotland generally. More significantly it symbolized the disappearance of the traditional form of holiday-taking in the region, namely, staying at one destination resort for one or two weeks, arriving and leaving by public transport, and thus being relatively static in location for the duration of the visit. These changes corresponded to the general breakdown of the traditional holiday pattern which had marked much of European and North American tourism during the previous century (Pattison, 1968; Stansfield, 1972). This pattern was characterized by travel by families from industrial population centres to the nearest coast for a holiday of a week or two weeks, in some cases visiting the same resort and the same hotel at the same time for many years. In some areas the husband would leave the family at the resort for the summer and commute to them at weekends. The markets were often controlled and monopolized by private rail and steam ship companies which had often integrated with hotel and infrastructure developments in the resorts they served. Changes in transportation, particularly the introduction of initially piston-driven, and then jet aircraft, far greater affluence and availability of holidays, a more peaceful world and many other factors culminated in dramatic changes in tourist travel and the development of destinations to cater for the resulting explosion in tourist numbers. The 1960s marked the end of a period of considerable stability in tourism in the older industrialized countries of Europe and North America and a period of major difficulties for the old established resort areas such as those in the Firth of Clyde which had not previously had to withstand very much competition because of transport monopolies and limited captive markets. Suddenly these resorts had to compete, not only with ones in their own country, but also with others in Europe and throughout the world. Most of them were relatively poorly equipped to do this and suffered heavily as a result. The changes in economic well being were manifested in physical as well as economic change.

It was relatively easy to see the changes coming about, numbers of visitors at traditional resorts declining, markets changing, plant and infrastructure ageing and not being replaced, resulting in an air of gradual decay. In the Highlands of Scotland the market was changing from predominantly middle—and upper-class guests mostly staying in one centre, to a larger market of middle—to lower-middle-class tourists travelling by car and coach rather than rail, and using bed and breakfast establishments instead of hotels and private lodges and estates. Car and coaches enabled them to move from centre to centre during the holiday. The redevelopment of places like Aviemore in Speyside and its regrettable transformation from a nineteenth-century village with one major traditional hotel and traditionally designed smaller accommodation establishments through the addition of a holiday village and many other tourist-related establishments, still widely unaccepted thirty years later, was the most dramatic example in Scotland. The trigger for these changes in the Spey valley was the development of winter sports and with that the perception of the feasibility of a year-round tourism industry (Butler, 1973; Getz, 1983). It represented a form of rejuvenation, not so much of a place in decline, but more of a destination in change. In the Firth of Clyde, the absence of comparable rejuvenation opportunities forced the resorts there to turn to other means of survival, including roles in commuting, retirement, car ferry ports, second homes and as activity centres for yachting, golf and fishing. This pattern has been repeated in resorts in many parts of the United Kingdom and elsewhere (Cooper, 1992).

The 1960s were not a period of great conceptual development in tourism research, as noted above, primarily because there was very little tourism research being done in the academic realm. Thus, although this author, and doubtless others, was nothing and recording the changes mentioned above, it was not until other examples were found in the literature that the ideas of an overall model saw the light of day. In the context of the development of the resort cycle, two key tourism articles, those by Christaller (1963) and Plog (1973) provided much of the stimulus.

As well, the work of Stansfield (1972, 1978) was also of particular relevance, and it was Stansfield who coined the phrase 'the resort cycle'. The 1970s, however, perhaps as a response to the great changes which were happening in tourism itself, were a time of considerable conceptual development in tourism, albeit much of it based on 'seat of the pants' intuition and personal experience. Many of models and concepts put forward in that decade remain and are still quoted in the literature, including the work of Cohen (1979), Doxey (1975), Plog (1973) and Smith (1977), even though relatively little of the conceptualization developed was based directly on detailed empirical research, but more on the authors' interpretation of experience and knowledge. At a time when there was little research on tourism, such a state of affairs was neither unusual nor unreasonable. It is, perhaps, a tribute to the insight of these individuals that their ideas continue to be debated and used in the current literature more than two decades later.

Of the articles noted above, two particularly appealed to this author because they provided key elements in the development of the cycle concept. In Christaller's (1963) paper, although the one argument about tourists avoiding central places is somewhat faulty, in the context of the changes in destinations there was evidence that the process

being observed in Scotland had occurred in other places. As well, this paper provided a basic conceptual explanation for the changes in patterns of tourism. Plog's (1973) article was of critical importance for two reasons. First, because it suggested that the demand side of tourism was also dynamic and thus provided a basis for linking the changes in destinations (supply) with changes in visitors (demand). Second, because it was based on empirical work and statistical analysis, limited though these may appear some three decades later, which represented something of a rarity in tourism research at the time.

Other references that were of particular importance were the papers by Stansfield (1972, 1978) already noted above, which provided specific evidence of the pattern of changes in resorts in the North-Eastern USA. Although Stansfield (1978) has to be given the credit for first using the phrase 'the resort cycle' in the modern literature on tourism, in fact its use in a tourism context is much older, and evidence exists in the term being used at the end of the last century (Butler, 1989); however, this was not known when the original article (Butler, 1980) was written. Also important was the very early work of Wolfe (1952), who described both the physical and social changes in a major tourist destination in Canada, calling the changes appropriately 'The divorce from the geographic environment.' Since then, of course, there have been a large number of papers documenting other examples of change in tourist destinations, many using the resort cycle model (see, for example, Agarwal, 1994, 1997; Butler and Hinch, 1988; Cooper and Jackson, 1989; Debbage, 1990; Digence, 1997; Din, 1992; hovinen, 1981, 1982; Ioannides, 1992; Kermath and Thomas, 1992; Meyer-Arendt, 1985; Oglethorpe, 1984; Richardson, 1986; Tooman, 1997; Weaver, 1990; Wilkinson, 1987; and Williams, 1993).

The idea of modelling the evolution of resorts came from two disparate concepts, as noted briefly in the original paper (Butler, 1980). The decision to discuss the evolution of resorts as a life cycle came from the well known business concept of the life cycle of a product. It appeared clear to this writer, and still does, that resorts and destinations are products and should, therefore, be expected to have such a life cycle, given the inherently dynamic nature of tourism (a point well illustrated by Russell and Faulkner, 1999). They represent a product which is created, marketed, and made available in a competitive environment to the consumer (see also Gordon, 1994, on this aspect). They are subject to competition from other products and, if proved uncompetitive, are normally modified as a result of market trends and innovations. It is not unreasonable to expect that over-time their appeal, as that of any product, is likely to decline, and with it, their market share. The second concept was that of the life cycle of animal species in the wild. Influential in the author's thinking was the work of the late ecologist Fraser Darling, particularly his superb study *A Herd of Red Deer* (Darling, 1936). The well documented phenomenon of wild life populations rising and crashing as the rapidly growing population placed too great demands on resources seemed an appropriate analogy to the rise and fall of tourist visitors numbers at destinations. In an unpublished paper (Butler and Brougham, 1972) this author and a colleague quoted Darling on this phenomenon in some detail:

Mathematicians have helped ecology enormously by their analysis of data of experimental animal populations...We know now the nature of the asymptotic or S curve applied to animal populations, that after a slow start of increase in a

population in an ample habitat there is a sharp rise in increase or productivity until near the saturation of the habitat, whereafter the curve flattens out, making the numbers of the population more or less static. The animal manager gets ready for a catastrophic fall if he has read the signs. (Darling in Thompson and Grimble, 1968, p.47)

These two disparate and rather unrelated concepts together provided some rationale for the challenge to what seemed the then current mode of thought with respect to tourist destinations. This was that a community, once established as a tourist destination, would always have appeal as a tourist destination, with little need to reflect and accommodate the changes taking place in the external world. Naive though this thinking may appear at the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is necessary to remember that most developed tourist resorts in Europe and North America had been established in the middle to late nineteenth century, some, such as Brighton (Gilbert, 1989) or Atlantic City (Stansfield, 1972) even earlier than this. The market and patterns of tourism had remained relatively constant for almost a century, despite growth and the intervention of two world wars. Complacency and lack of research allowed the continued supposition that past trends would continue and the resorts would remain attractive for the foreseeable future. This point is returned to later in the chapter.

In conclusion to this rather lengthy introduction, some key points should be noted. The period before the 1980s was one of little research in tourism, although there was a growing interest in the subject by a small number of researchers. Theories and models were few, and those that were proposed were rarely based on detailed empirical research. Tourism was not thought of as a subject for serious research and destinations, when studied, were examined as isolated case studies. At the same time there were fundamental changes occurring in the demand side of tourism which were resulting in major impacts becoming imminent on the supply side of tourism. The turbulence in the system experienced over the last two decades of the twentieth century was well established, even though its full effects had not been felt in many areas.

Elements

To comment on the model and its relevance at the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is appropriate to break down the model into what this author regards as its essential elements. There has been considerable attention paid to the model over the years, much of its producing valuable comment and criticism, proposing improvements and modifications, and suggesting alternative models (see, for example, Agarwal, 1994; Bianchia, 1994; di Benedetto and Bojanic, 1993; Choy, 1992; Cooper, 1992; Debbage, 1990, 1999; Getz, 1992; Hayward, 1986, 1992; Jarviuloma, 1992; Keller, 1987; Prosser, 1995; Shaw and Williams, 1994; Smith, 1992; Strapp, 1988; Wall, 1982; and weaver, 1988).

It can be argued, however, that in some cases the key elements, and thus the overall validity of the model, have been overlooked because of a focus on detail. At the time at which it was presented, the purpose of the model was relatively simple, to argue the case that destinations could be regarded and analysed as a product and that they would have a life cycle which would proceed through stages. Logically, it was argued, at some point

this would be likely to end unless specific efforts were made to prevent this and to extend the cycle. The model attempts, perhaps ambitiously, to relate growth, change, limits and intervention in a tourism context, and to bring together the demand and supply sides of the equation. In doing this, it includes eight specific but related elements, not all of which have been addressed in the two decades since the initial appearance of the original article.

The key concept above all, is *dynamism*, or change. It may appear so obvious nowadays that change is a key component of tourism that one may wonder why this was seen as important. However, as noted above, to an industry that traditionally had not witnessed sudden change or exponential growth in the preceding century or so, it was important to stress the change and the dynamics of both sides of tourism, demand and supply. The relationship between changes in supply and changes in demand is a key aspect of resort development and may change over the life of the resort. Many early resorts were supply-led, being established to cater for a market that was only just beginning. As tourism developed and changed rapidly, many older resorts found themselves lagging behind the changes in the demand or market rather than being ahead as had been the case previously. The way they responded often determined their continued success or failure. Over the year there is little doubt that the rate of change has increased which has compounded many of their problems.

A second key element is *process*, with the model suggesting that there was a specific and common process of development of tourist destinations, which could be described and modelled. While the concept of process was not challenged directly, the argument that there is a common process was (Hayward, 1986; Wall, 1982), and one of the major areas of study with respect to the model has been the nature and commonality, or lack thereon, of the development process as proposed in the model. Many of the authors cited above have suggested and illustrated variation on the process in specific locations. However, the key argument that there is a development process through which tourist destinations pass seems generally accepted.

The third element is that of *capacity or limits to growth*, a concept that was strong in the resource in the 1960s (Hardin, 1988; Meadows *et al.*, 1972), and which this author strongly believes to be equally relevant today (Butler, 1996). The model was based in part on the belief that if demand and visitation exceeded the carrying capacity or limits of the destination, expressed in a number of ways, that the quality of the visitor experience along with the physical appearance of the destination would decline, and that this would be reflected in a subsequent decline in visitor numbers. Some support for this view is shared by Martin and Uysal (1990, p. 390) who argue that

It is impossible to determine tourist carrying capacity outside of the context of the position of the destination areas in the life cycle. The interrelationship of the two concepts is dynamic, with the idea of change implicit in both concepts.

Fourth, although implicit rather than explicit, is the idea of *triggers*, factors which bring about change in the destination. While these were discussed to some degree in the model, they were perhaps not given the focus they might deserve. Certainly in terms of

rejuvenation, and the shifting from stage to stage they are of particular relevance. They were envisaged as including innovations in areas such as transportation, and in marketing, as well as initiatives at the local and subsequently regional, national and international levels by developers. This last area was not discussed in the tourism literature and has only relatively recently been given the attention it deserves (Weaver, 1988; Russell and Faulkner, 1999).

Fifth, there is *management*, and if there is one element which has been ignored in the subsequent discussion and application of the model, it is this one. The title of the original article included 'Implication for management of resources', but perhaps because there was not a great deal of discussion of this component in the article, it has tended to be overlooked. This has resulted in criticism that the model is proposing the inevitability of decline (Hayward, 1986). In fact, this was only as part of the focus of the model, which in essence was putting forward the view that if intervention and management did not occur, then change and decline were probably inevitable. The issue of the management of tourist resorts and destinations in general, however, is something which deserves much greater attention. In reality, most tourist resorts are not managed in the strict sense that there is some agency with that responsibility. Rather, only individual elements are managed, and resort communities at best planned and promoted, with varying levels of development control. Management of tourism in the true sense rarely exists except at specific facilities.

Sixth, there is the implicit argument for a *long-term viewpoint* in the planning and management of destinations. The presumption of the model was that, if destinations are to avoid the pitfalls of overuse and subsequent decline in appeal, then looking forward from the beginning is of crucial importance. While to most private sector developers key issues are how to attract tourists in the first year of development and a decade may seem long-term, in reality what is necessary is to identify how to keep tourists coming to the destination some fifty or a hundred years in the future. Such long-term planning or visioning is still very much a rarity, and reflects the unwillingness or inability of forecasters to predict beyond a decade or so with any confidence. Given the rapid rate of change in tourism which is now present, one has to sympathize with the inherent difficulties in this task.

Seventh is what may be called the *spatial* component, originally a major element in the first version of the model (Butler and Brougham, 1972), but which was much less prominent in the published version. The proposition in this respect was that, as development at a specific destination stagnated, there would be a spatial shift of development to a new destination. This could occur in the immediate vicinity, for example, in the Gold Coast region of Queensland from Coolangatta to Surfers Paradise (Russell and Faulkner, 1998), or from one region to another, for example from Southern France to Spain, to Greece and then to other destinations around the Mediterranean. The change in location was assumed to reflect a number of changes in the original destination or destination area including rising costs for items such as labour and land, and decline in environmental quality.

Finally, there is the element of *universal applicability*, namely, that the model was essentially applicable to all tourist destinations. A rather presumptuous claim perhaps, but it was, after all, intended to be a general model of the tourism development process. Any model has to be applicable beyond one situation, and the limited evidence and literature available in the 1970s suggested that the process and pattern of tourist destination development was very similar across a wide variety of locations and scales.

While there are other elements and issues raised in the original paper, the above are seen as the key components and concepts introduced. It seems appropriate next to comment briefly on some of the uses and criticisms of the model in the intervening two decades.

Criticism, Application, and Modification

The most quoted criticisms of the model are by Hayward (1986, 1992), who raised concerns over the identification of the stages of the model, questions of timing and scale and the suggested inevitability of the process which seemed to deny the possibilities of intervention. Wall (1982) also raised equally valid concerns over scale and whether cycles are real phenomena, while Getz (1983, 1986, 1992) discussed difficulties of using the carrying capacity concept in the context of destination planning. Most users of the model have found some points which were less applicable than others in the particular destinations which they were studying. In more recent years, Choy (1992) argued that the model had little applicability in the context of the Pacific islands because of the variety of development patterns that appeared to exist in that region, and proposed alternative cycles and processes, although one might wonder at the validity of taking the whole South Pacific as a single destination rather than the individual island states. Cohen (1979), in an article written before the model appeared, anticipated another criticism when he raised the issue of unidirectionality of such models and argued that there are probably multiple types of dynamics.

Prosser (1995) summarized the criticisms of the model as being of five types:

- doubts on there being a single model of development;
- limitations on the capacity issue;
- conceptual limitations of the life cycle model;
- lack of empirical support for the concept; and
- limited practical utility of the model.

It is not the specific purpose of this chapter to refute the above and other criticisms, and particularly not those that deal with general criticisms of the product life cycle concept in broader terms (for example, Hayward, 1986 and Hart *et al.*, 1984). To do so would necessitate a far longer paper to do justice to the criticisms and to place them into appropriate contexts, and to fashion a full response where one was felt justified. Rather, some general responses will suffice.

For the most part the above criticisms are accepted to a fair degree. The original article was very short compared to many articles today, highly generalized and proposed

a general principal or theory. It did not present empirical evidence to support the concept, although sufficient research has been done by many authors since to make this possible. In being so brief it left implicit items which could, and with hindsight perhaps should, have been made more explicit or expanded, and thus did leave itself open to the criticisms which have been made. Despite these quite profound criticisms, however, the model is still being used, a point that Prosser (1995, p. 9) makes,

The extensive criticism levelled at the resort life cycle concept shows no sign of dissuading researchers from adopting the model as a framework for their research...the original model survives largely intact and according to some, offers the prospect of further development.

In the process of application many authors have noted how the model did not fit the specific destinations which they were studying and proposed amendments. Clearly, a model that includes all of reality is no longer a model, but some of the proposed amendments would appear to hold more general applicability than others. Again, it is not possible to note all of these here, but of particular interest to this author are those of Agarwal, Faulkner and Russell, Keller, Opperman, Strapp and Weaver. Agarwal (1994), along with others (Hovinen, 1981, 1982, for example) raises the possibility of alternative and additional stages after the stagnation stage of the original model particularly with respect to the decline stage option. Keller (1987) argued that an overlooked elements, and one which could be related strongly to the stages of development, was control over development and sources of investment, as aspect also discussed by Debbage (1990, 1992).

In a similar vein, in examining the role of indigenous *versus* non-local investors, Weaver (1988) suggested a different process for the initial development of tourism in plantation economies, a point which deserves much more investigation, and which may have parallels in other stages and situations. Such work on developers and investors raises some of the issues discussed later in the work on entrepreneurs by Russell and Faulkner (1999). Strapp (1988) incorporated the cycle into the process of conversion of second-home destinations from conventional tourist places into retirement havens, a process which is taking place in many established tourist areas with potentially serious implications. Opperman (1998) suggested that one factor related to the cycle was decline in length of stay of visitors and while this alone is not a major factor, it could serve as both a trigger and an explanatory factor in the stages of development. Finally, Faulkner and Russell (1997) introduce the relatively recent concept of chaos theory to tourism development and the resort cycle model. This raises some fascinating implications, not least because it deals in part with questions of agents of change or triggers in the development process, topics which have not been dealt with adequately and which should reveal much about both specific cases and general processes.

These are by no means the only modifications which have been suggested and which have potential merit for changes in the basic model, but are ones which this author finds particularly relevant to the continued application of the model.

Validity and Future Application

After twenty years of review and application it is reasonable to query whether the

tourism area life cycle is still a valid model for the study of tourism development and whether it can still serve as a broad conceptual framework for the study of the development process of tourism destinations. It is not surprising perhaps that this author is prepared to argue that the basic tenets of the model and the concept are as, or even more, applicable to contemporary tourism than they were to tourism development twenty years ago.

One of the predominating concepts of the 1990s has been sustainable development (Butler, 1991). In order to keep the text of this chapter longer than the list of references there will not be a discussion of that concept to any degree, nor its applicability to tourism development; other authors have done this (see, for example, Hall and Lew, 1998; Wahab and Pigram, 1997) and the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* has almost a decade of publications on this topic. This author has argued that the original resort cycle article could legitimately be regarded an early call for the principles of sustainable development to be applied in the context of tourism destinations (Butler, 1997). The model, as noted above, contained in it what are generally accepted as the essential elements of sustainable development, namely, the need for a long-term view, the acceptance of limits to growth and development and the need for responsibility and control over development. This author believes, perhaps even more strongly than in 1980, that these principles are basic and essential if destinations are to be developed and maintained in an appropriate and sustainable manner. One of the problems with the application of the concept of sustainable development to tourism, however, is the fact that it has rarely been applied or even thought of in the context of mass tourism, and thus the application of the principles to the classic tourist resorts has been very limited (Vera and Rippin, 1996) despite arguments that these are the areas most in need of the application of such principles (Wheeler, 1993; Butler, 1997).

The number of places which are experiencing problems from overdevelopment and overuse is increasing annually. This is hardly a new problem: Wolfe commented with his usual far-sightedness on such issues almost five decades ago (Wolfe, 1952), and suggested an alternative curve of development and impacts shortly after the original model appeared (Wolfe, 1982). It appears highly likely that the rate of consumption of tourist destinations is increasing, that is, the time taken to proceed through the cycle is diminishing. Improvements in transportation, reductions in cost, savings through economies of scale, innovations in marketing and societal changes in tastes and behaviour all serve to reduce brand and place loyalty and to encourage the desire for stimulation, novelty and change for the sake of change. The 'collection', in some cases possibly instead of the enjoyment, of destinations has the potential to speed the movement of places along Plog's (1973) curve. While many tourists may like to think they are travellers rather than tourists, or allocentrics rather than psychocentrics in Plog's (1973) classification, one may argue that almost all travellers are on their way to being tourists whether they like it or realized it or not (Wheeler, 1993).

In the context of tourism development it may not be possible to prevent the process of development and subsequent decline of destinations, but it can certainly be argued that society at large does have a responsibility to avoid Hardin's 'tragedy of the

commons' (1968) being repeated in most tourist destinations, an argument alluded to by this author (Butler, 1991) and discussed at more length by Healy in his article of 1994. At the heart of the resort cycle model is the principal that the development of destinations is normally evolutionary rather than revolutionary and, as a result, control and responsibility are crucial elements if development is to be appropriate and the destinations survive over the long-term. In the years ahead there is no reason why the model cannot continue to serve as a call for such responsibility and intervention, and as such, to have continued validity. Until there is convincing evidence that those responsible for tourism destination planning, development and management have learned the lessons from what are now regarded as past mistakes, the resort cycle model is likely to have validity in a predictive sense well into the future. Evidence (Faulkner, 1999) from some areas would suggest that there is still a reluctance in both the private and public sectors in destinations to admit that a decline may be occurring or is likely to occur in any specific destination.

Conclusions

Because it is a generalized and relatively simplistic model, it was inevitable that the resort cycle model would not fit perfectly, or necessarily even closely, all of the many specific and unique cases to which it has been applied. The question best asked, perhaps, is not whether in its original form it successfully and completely explained the process of tourist destination evolution at all locations, but rather whether it still has applicability and validity at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

The frequency of use of the model and the number of examples discussed in the literature would tend to support the view that the model still has validity in terms of being a descriptive model which has applicability in a wide variety of spatial, temporal, cultural and economic situations. It is still being used to illustrate the process of the development of tourist places in a variety of ways (Wilkinson, 1996).

Undoubtedly it provides a conceptual hook for case studies of specific locations, and given the propensity for case studies from an industry and business perspective in tourism and from the need to have specific field work examples for research, it fills a niche in tourism research methodology and conceptual development. While its ability to provide anything new after two decades has legitimately been questioned (Opperman, 1998), others continue to apply and modify the model in a variety of settings (Agarwal, forthcoming; Burns and Murphy, 1998; Gonçalves and Aguas, 1997; Travel and Tourism Intelligence, 1997). Johnston (1999) has articulately expressed the ontological and epistemological attributes of the model and argues that one of its contributions is to enable analysis to go beyond simply identifying stages. He concludes that there is much more to learn about the way destinations are developed and thus a continuing role of the tourism area life cycle model. Until the destination development process is more clearly understood and short-term opportunism replaced by long-term integrated development in a controlled context, the 'tragedy of resorts' implicit in the model is likely to remain and issue of concern in the context of tourism.

14

The International Dimension

International Comparisons of Tourism and Leisure

There has been changing availability of 'free' time in most countries, whether they are classified as 'developed' or 'less developed.' There is a lack of precise comparative data, but a World Tourism Organization (1983) survey indicates aggregate changes in the length of the working week (table 14.1). Whereas in the developed countries the average length of the working week has been falling, it has been increasing in many less developed countries. The data have to be interpreted carefully, as different sets of countries are included in the 1960 and the 1980 samples. There are also major differences in the distribution of leisure time between men and women, and amongst age cohorts and social classes.

There is a general tendency towards internationalization in the content of leisure time. Purchases of mass consumer goods, such as electronic audio and visual equipment, together with media presentations of 'desirable' lifestyles, are leading to greater universallisation in both active and passive leisure time. Tourism services are also becoming increasingly internationalized. Todaro's (1977, 271) comments on the implications of the internationalization of trade, in general, are relevant here. They apply at least as much to tourism, and to most of the developed as well as the developing countries:

. . . international trade and finance must be understood in a much broader perspective than simply the inter-country flow of commodities and financial resources. By 'opening' their economies and societies to world trade and commerce and by 'looking outward' to the rest of the world, Third World countries invite not only the transfer of goods, services and financial resources, but also the 'developmental' or 'anti-developmental' influences of the transfer of production technologies, consumption patterns, institutional and organizational arrangements, educational, health and social systems, and the more general values, ideals, and lifestyles of the developed nations of the world, both capitalist and socialist.

TABLE 14.1 Trends in the length of the working week, 1960-80: the percentage of countries in which the average working week is less than 40 hours

	1960	1980
Africa	55	47
Americas	0	32
East Asia and the Pacific	80	55
Europe	0	44
Middle East	25	0
South Asia	NA	33

Source: World Tourism Organization

The internationalization of tourism is a process with long roots. It can be traced back to the earliest trading, to the pilgrimages of medieval times, and the Grand Tours of the aristocracy and the upper middle classes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Mass international tourism is a product of the twentieth century, especially of the period since the Second World War. In most countries the vast majority of tourists are still domestic tourists but as Table 14.2 shows, there are several countries in which international tourists outnumber the domestic ones. These are mostly located in Western Europe, where international travel is facilitated by relatively high disposable incomes, political and social stability, and the relatively small geographical size of most states. In the USA, by contrast the sheer size of that country, and the vast range of climatic regions and landforms which it encompasses, means that international tourism is dwarfed by domestic tourism.

In 1948 there were 14 million international tourists, in 1955 there were 46 million, in 1965 144 million, and in 1989 there were 403 million (World Tourism Organization 1990). Such trends led Cosgrove and Jackson (1972, 42) to comment that 'The pioneer fringe of international tourism ostentatiously flutters almost throughout the world.' They were right then—and even more so in the 1990s—that there are very few regions, let alone countries, which have not been touched, in some way, by international tourism. However, this should not be taken to imply that global mass tourism has now arrived and that the populations of most countries are caught up in the whirl of international travel.

There are a number of important features in the geographical pattern of international tourism movements. Mansfield (1990) provides an overview of spatial interaction within the 'tourist space', and distinguishes between aggregated and disaggregated perspectives. The latter are subdivided into those that emphasize sociodemographic variables and behavioural segmentation. Here, we limit ourselves to some brief comments on the aggregate patterns for disaggregation perspectives. First, the international movements of tourists are highly *polarized*. All of the major (larger than one million) international movements of visitors are shown in figure 14.1. These figures include day visitors, international labour migrants, business and holiday tourists. They, therefore, exaggerate the importance of some of the tourism flows, but despite this they

provide a picture of the geographical pattern of international movement. As would be expected, the moves are primarily amongst the more developed countries (that is, intra- or inter-core) or from these to less developed ones which offer relatively accessible holiday destinations (that is, core-periphery). Two of the three largest international flows are between the USA and Canada. There are also important trans-North Atlantic flows and large movements from Japan.

TABLE 14.2 Domestic Tourism: share of all hotel and similar accommodation nights accounted for by domestic tourists

	<i>per cent</i>
Kenya	20.6
Zaire	35.3
Morocco	17.7
Denmark	50.3
Greece	22.3
Italy	61.7
Spain	33.4
Austria	20.5
France	69.0
Syria	52.6

Source: World Tourism Organization (1989a, 61-3)

Second, most of these international movements are *regionalized* and are especially concentrated within Europe. There were two separate systems within Europe in 1987, involving Western and Eastern Europe; this will have been modified to some extent by the collapse of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe. The cut-off point of one million means that only the largest flows are shown in this map, and there are several other subsystems of international movements which are not so apparent. These include Japan and East Asia, the USA and the Caribbean, South Africa and Southern Africa, and Europe and North Africa. For example, the relatively modest tourism flows into the Caribbean are highly dominated by the USA; it accounts for more than half of the tourists in most of the Caribbean islands, while in Bermuda and the British Virgin Islands the figure exceeds 90 per cent.

Third, the *overall dominance of Europe continues but is in relative decline* (Table 14.3a). International tourism expanded rapidly in Europe in the 1960s, but its world share peaked at 75 per cent in the early 1970s. Subsequently, this share has fallen back, to 62 per cent in 1989. The share of the Americas (especially the USA) has also fallen back, although it has been relatively stable at about one fifth of the total since the early 1970s. In contrast, there has been steady growth in tourism arrivals in Africa, and quite spectacular growth

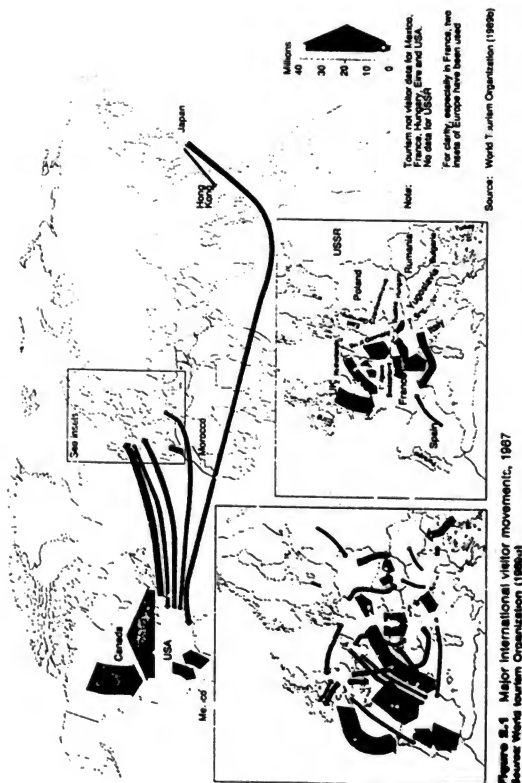


Figure 14.1 Major international visitor movement, 1987

Source: World Tourism Organization (1989b)

in Asia/Pacific. This is underlined by the percentage change data for the 1980s (table 14.3b). Oceania and Asia have had far higher growth rates than the other world regions.

TABLE 14.3 International tourism: global macro-regions (a) Tourism arrivals by region—percentage distribution

	1950	1971	1989
Europe	66	75	62
Americas	30	19	20
Africa	2	1	4
Asia/Pacific	1	3	15
Middle East	1	2	
	100	100	

(b) Tourism growth rates, 1980-89

	Percentage change, 1980-89
Africa	+ 81.36
Americas	+ 48.43
Asia	+ 102.37
Europe	+ 28.75
Oceania	+ 123.61
World	+ 41.69

Sources: World Tourism Organization, various reports; (b) World Tourism Organization (1990, 11-12).

In part, this reflects the 'discovery' of these regions by the tour companies and the tourists of the developed countries in the Northern Hemisphere. However, it also reflects rising real incomes in some of the newly industrializing countries of Asia and, more especially, Japan. In 1987, for example, there were 577 700 Japanese tourists to China and 341 900 to Thailand. Japanese tourism has been fuelled by rising living standards, appreciation of the yen, and government promotion of foreign tourism as a gesture towards reduction of the balance of payments surplus. The latter is the so called 'Ten Million' programme launched in 1987.

The Uneven International Trade in Tourism

Tourism is an important element of international trade and, not surprisingly, has attracted the interest of national governments. There is a high and positive income elasticity of demand for tourism. This has been translated into strong growth in the volume of international tourism and in the foreign exchange transfers generated by the industry. Between 1965 and 1987 the growth of tourism's foreign exchange earnings matched the overall growth of world exports. The significance of this is underlined by the realization that the growth of world trade itself has outstripped that of GDP since the 1950s (Knox and Agnew 1989). While this in itself is impressive, a disaggregation of temporal trends reveals a major shift in the composition of trade in recent years. Between 1980 and 1989

international tourism expenditure increased by 104 per cent, which was double the 52 per cent growth in global exports (World Tourism Organization 1990). The economic importance of international tourism can also be provided with a theoretical perspective—albeit a simplistic one—in the form of the export base theory. This argues that economic growth stems from income generated from outside an area; that is, from exports.

Another reason for the growing importance of international tourism is deindustrialization in the developed countries. This means that the service sector—including tourism—has become more important in these economies. This is particularly the case with employment; for example, in the USA 80 per cent of job growth between 1875 and 1985 was concentrated in just four service sectors (Knox and Agnew 1989, 183). Ricardo's concept of comparative advantage provides an interesting theoretical perspective on specialization in tourism. The argument is that an area should specialize in producing and exporting those products in which it has competitive or relative cost advantages compared to other countries. This would seem to rule out international tourism in the more developed countries of Northern Europe. However, the application of this economic principle to tourism is limited because of the nature of tourism attractions, which are—to a large extent—socially constructed. Faced with deindustrialization in the late twentieth century, many developed countries set about reconstructing their tourism images as a means of generating alternative sources of employment.

In addition, the conditions surrounding the production of tourism services are distinctive. Tourism requires relatively low initial capital investment, especially if it is integrated with existing settlements and infrastructure. Obviously, the development of large scale tourism will require greater capital investments (perhaps in a new airport, in attractions or in new hotels) but even these are usually easier to facilitate than a major investment in manufacturing capacity. Generally, tourism requires lower per capita investment, lower technological and labour skills, and faces less protectionism in world markets than does manufacturing. Not surprisingly, for these reasons tourism tends to be attractive to less developed regions and countries in search of strategies for economic development.

Establishing the importance of international tourism receipts and expenditures is easier than quantifying them in any detail. Data for different countries for the same time period can be inconsistent because of differences in definitions and in data collection methods. There are two main methods for estimating tourism expenditures, and these are often used in conjunction:

The direct method relies on information provided by tourists themselves and by financial institutions. The indirect method multiplies the number of tourist nights by an average of daily expenditures. These procedures involve errors in generating the net balance on 'tourist' expenditures abroad (the balance on tourism) and fail to include the related transactions which owe their existence to tourism (Baretje 1982, 59).

There are considerable problems in providing such estimates: poor reporting by financial institutions, incomplete records of tourist numbers and tourist nights, and

inaccurate estimates of tourism spend levels. There is also a need to take into account net financial transfers related to tourism such as foreign investments, transport costs, imports of goods, remittance by migrant workers, and so on. International tour companies add an additional layer of complexity to international tourism trade flows. For example, Bull (1990, 325) provides an estimate that, on average, only 31 per cent of the money spent on a British package holiday in Spain is received by that country, whereas 50 per cent is received by the UK tour company, and the remaining 19 per cent is received by other UK businesses. Within the receiving country, the tourism receipts are distributed across a number of sectors. In the UK in 1980, for example, the distribution was as follows: 27 per cent on shopping, 21 per cent on each of accommodation and travel to the UK, 11 per cent on eating out, and 9 per cent on travel in the UK (Gratton and Taylor 1987, 70).

TABLE 14.4 The ideal calculation of the national tourism balance

	<i>Sum</i>		<i>Sum</i>
Tourism expenditures (outlays of national citizens abroad)	—	Tourism receipts (expenditures of foreign tourists)	—
Importation of commodities (chiefly foodstuffs and instrumental goods)	—	Exportation (goods durables or semi-durables, handicraft products)	—
Transportation (share of international travel by national citizens)	—	Transportation (share of international travel by non-nationals)	—
Tourism investments abroad	—	Foreign tourism investments within the nation	—
Interest payments on foreign Investments and refund of capital	—	Income from tourism investments made abroad	—
Repatriation of income paid to foreign tourism workers	—	Repatriation of income paid to national tourism workers residing abroad	—
Publicity, advertising, etc.	—	Publicity, advertising, etc.	—
DEBIT BALANCE = deficit		CREDIT BALANCE = surplus	—
Total		Total	

Source: Sessa (1983, 136)

These, and other such financial transactions, must be taken into account to calculate the net tourism balance, what Baretje (1982) terms 'Tourism's External Account' or what

sesta (1983) calls the 'Ideal Tourism Balance': the latter is summarized in Table 14.4. Arguably, even this broader calculation is incomplete in that, for example, it fails to take into account the social and environmental costs of international tourism, whether in terms of traffic congestion or the damage to the ecosystem of the Mediterranean and the Caribbean. Despite such shortcomings, these arguments are important in providing a broader conceptual framework for analysing the economic importance of international tourism trade flows, although in practice it is very difficult to obtain comparable international statistics for the Ideal Tourism Balance. Instead, we have to rely on the less complete estimates of receipts and expenditure which are collated by the World Tourism Organization and by the OECD.

Earnings from international tourism have long been important to a number of economies. As early as 1966, it was estimated that \$ 13.1 billion of \$ 60 billion tourism spend was international (Cosgrove and Jackson 1972, 45). Subsequently, the importance of the international component has almost certainly increased substantially. In the following discussion some of the salient features of the international trade in tourism services are analysed. There has been a tendency within tourism research to view tourism trade in isolation from general trends in trade. This perspective is limited and we, therefore, provide some references to the literature on this topic.

TABLE 14.5 Global regions: percentage shares of international tourism arrivals and receipts, 1989

	<i>Arrivals</i>	<i>Receipts</i>
Africa	3.8	3.2
Americas	19.8	26.9
Asia	13.6	17.1
Europe	61.8	50.4
Oceania	1.1	2.5
World total	100.0	100.0

Source: World Tourism Organization (1990)

The present distribution of tourism receipts between world regions is summarized in Table 14.5. There is a broad but imperfect association between the numbers of international tourists and the share of total tourism receipts accounted for by the major world regions. Africa and Oceania have relatively small shares of both, while 94 per cent of receipts are accounted for by Europe, the Americas and Asia. Both the Americas and Asia account for a larger share of receipts than of tourists, reflecting a relatively efficient income-extracting industry. In comparison, Europe has 11 per cent more arrivals than receipts; this is accounted for by shorter distances and shorter trips, and by the organization of a mass tourism industry based on all-inclusive holiday packages. In addition, over-time the shares of receipts accounted for by both Europe and the Americas have declined; their respective shares in 1965 had been 62 per cent and 29 per cent (Cosgrove

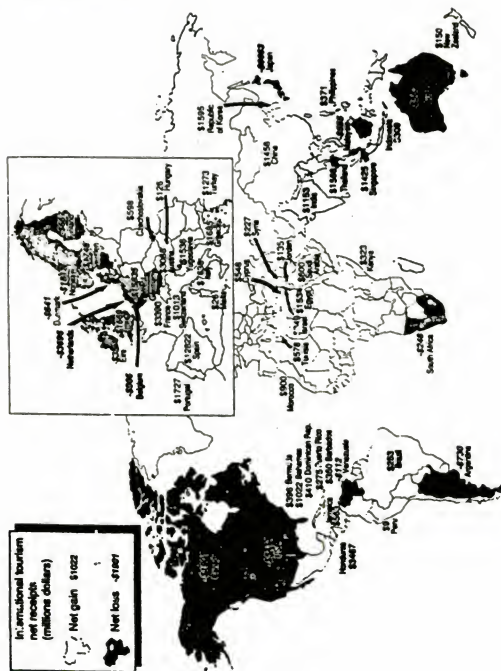


Figure 14.2 International tourism receipts, 1987
Source: World Tourism Organization (1989b)

and Jackson 1972, 43). This reflects the globalization of the tourism industry in the 1970s and 1980s, as well as the rise of Japan as a major source of tourism expenditures.

A more detailed disaggregation of international tourism financial flows also reveals a number of features. In terms of total receipts (Figure 14.2), the USA is the world leader. However, with this exception, the main feature of the distribution is strong regionalization. For the reasons noted earlier, European countries are dominant, particularly the UK, Italy, Spain and France. In addition, the other two main geographical nodes are in the Americas, largely driven by tourism from the USA, and in East Asia, through Japanese tourism. This

of tourism expenditures. As a result, the geographical distribution of the net balances on the tourism account (Figure 14.3) reveal a quite different pattern. Reflecting the north-south pattern of tourism, the less developed countries make a far stronger showing in terms of net receipts than of gross receipts. Europe also appears more polarized. Northern Europe mostly has large deficits, while Southern Europe records large surpluses. Another feature of note is the large deficit on the tourism account of the USA, Japan and especially Germany. The latter had a net deficit of \$ 15 835 in 1987. In the case of both Germany and Japan these deficits partly counterbalance large surpluses on the balances of trade. In these case of the USA, tourism adds significantly to the current account deficit of a country with a large recurrent trade imbalance.

The overall importance of tourism to these different economies is, of course, a function of several contingent conditions, and is not simply related to the absolute size of the net balance. A deficit of \$ 8 billion is relatively insignificant to Japan given its trade surpluses, while a small positive balance can be of major importance to a less developed economy. This is dependent on the absolute size of the economies as well as the degree of diversification which exists. For example, in Mexico the share of tourism earnings in total exports declined from 52 per cent to 6 per cent between 1954 and 1982, largely as a function of industrialization and increased revenue from oil exports (Truett and Truett 1987). The degree of diversity is reflected in the experiences of the Caribbean as shown in Figure 14.4. In 1985 gross receipts of \$ 97 million represented 97 per cent of the exports of the Bahamas, while receipts of \$ 407 million in Jamaica represented just 37 per cent of exports. In summary, the overall position is one in which tourism accounts for a relatively large share of exports in the developing countries compared to both Asia and Eastern Europe (Table 14.6). The developed market economies, *en masse*, occupy an intermediate position but, especially within Europe, this conceals considerable variations amongst individual states.

The pattern of commodity trade is mainly inter-core or intra-core trade, in that it centres on North America, Europe and Japan. For example, the industrial core economies have dominated international commodity trade, accounting for 60-70 per cent of world exports and imports in every decade since 1950 (McConnell 1986). In general, there has been an intensification of this long-standing dominance at the expense of core-periphery trade, with the exception of the oil-producing states. Tourism trade is different, however, in that some of the peripheral or semi-peripheral economies located in the Caribbean or on the fringes of the Mediterranean have secured important shares of the international tourism trade. Moreover, this share has increased over-time. Finally, there is broad similarity between trade in tourism and in commodities, in that both bring vulnerability (Keohane and Nye 1977) to the less developed countries. Vulnerability (Keohane and Nye 1977) to the less developed countries. Vulnerability can be interpreted as structural dependence (Gill and Law 1988, implying reduced scope for national policy.

International Tourism and the Pursuit of Business

While most tourism is a form of leisure, it does have other important functions such as visits to friends and relatives, as well as educational or religious trips. Tourism is also generated by business requirements. If tourism is defined in terms of overnight stays,

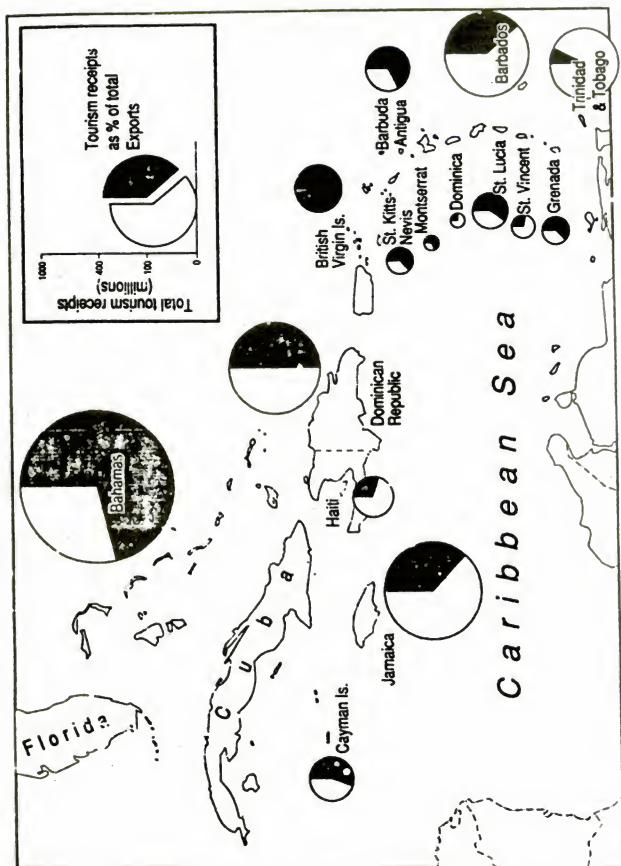


Figure 14.4 The contribution of tourism receipts to exports in selected Caribbean countries, 1985

**TABLE 14.6 International Tourism Receipts as a percentage of all Exports; 1987:
Global Regions**

	<i>Per cent</i>
Developed market economies	6.4
(Europe)	(8.0)
(Americas)	(5.7)
Developing countries	8.0
European socialist countries	1.0
Asian socialist countries	5.0

Source: World Tourism Organization (1989a, 17-18)

then international business tourism has existed since the early emergence of international trading. As the internationalization of the world economy developed, so international business tourism increased in importance. According to Palloix (1975), the internationalization of the world economy passed through a historical sequence from commodity capital (trade), to money capital (investment), through to productive capital (foreign direct investment as part of a global strategy by multinationals). Each of these stages has generated new forms and levels of international tourism. Trade required travel abroad to buy, sell and distribute products; portfolio investment also required travel for management purposes; and foreign direct investment demanded foreign travel to coordinate intra-company organization. Similarly, international subcontracting also generates foreign travel to maintain an integrated economic system.

In the late twentieth century, international business tourism has become a sophisticated industry. There are three constituent elements: incentive travel, conference tourism and business travel. Their economic importance is underlined by two facts. First, the per capita spending power of the business tourist is considerably higher than that of the leisure tourist, and the ratio between these has been estimated to be as much as three to one (Lawson 1982). Second, the sheer volume of international business tourism has reached an impressive level, with the World Tourism Organization (1991) estimating that this now accounts for 30 per cent of all international tourism.

Unfortunately, comprehensive statistics on business tourism are not available, although the World Tourism Organization collation of travel data provides information for some countries on the basis of tourist motivations (Figure 14.5). There is considerable variation in the importance of business tourism. Some countries in both the semi-periphery (Portugal) and the periphery (Seychelles) have well-developed holiday tourism industries which account for more than 90 per cent of international tourism. In the case of Portugal this makes a large absolute level of international business arrivals seem relatively unimportant. There are also some Third World countries (such as Bangladesh) with very limited holiday tourism; as a result, even modest levels of business tourism become important in relative terms. Finally, there are countries in the developed world (the USA) and amongst the newly industrializing countries (Singapore) where both business and holiday tourism are relatively important.

36 The International Dimension

A Holiday tourism is *overwhelmingly* dominant



B Business tourism is important and holiday tourism is little developed



C Business and holiday tourism are *relatively* important



Figure 2.6 Tourist motivations: selected international examples, 1987

Figure 14.5 Tourist motivations: selected international examples, 1987

Amongst the three main types of international business tourism, *incentive travel* is probably the least important. It is also the least researched. Incentive travel is an employment perk used to reward or motivate employees. It is used by such diverse organizations as major sporting clubs, and by large business corporations. Above all, it relies on the socially constructed nature of tourism and on the powers of the image-creating industry. The destinations may be relatively prosaic—a weekend on the golf courses of the Algarve or the beaches of Mallorca for exhausted footballers or executives. Alternatively, it may involve ‘...an individually tailored fantasy which cannot be bought in an ordinary package’ (*Financial Times* 2 September 1986). There is often an important gender dimension to these fantasy packages. They may be designed for the mostly female spouses of a largely male group of executives, and may represent a symbolic exchange for long hours spent at work and away from families. Whether the package is prosaic or fantastic, it is of considerable importance in economic terms. It has been estimated that one third of the UK’s top companies use tourism as a perk, and that the UK incentive travel industry was valued at £ 400 million, while that of the USA is worth over \$ 2 billion (Smith 1990). Moreover, 80 per cent of these incentive packages involve trips within Europe, so that their geographical distribution, as with tourism in general, is largely intra-core.

Conference tourism represents big business at both the national and the international scale; the North American market alone is valued at around \$ 45 billion (Smith 1990):

The Austrians like to claim that modern, organized conferences began with the Congress of Vienna in 1815, an influential affair which, like modern conventions, had a substantial social programme in addition to its working sessions. Perhaps it is more accurate though to look to the USA for the development of the modern convention industry. In North America, attending meetings has become something of a way of life (Smith 1989, 61).

By the early 1980s there were an estimated 14 000 international conferences each year (Law 1985a). These also have an overwhelmingly inter- and intra-core spatial distribution. Within Europe, the primary international conference centres are Paris, London, Madrid, Geneva and Brussels (Figure 14.6). Outside of Europe the main venues are Sydney, Singapore, Washington and New York. International conferences vary in size from brief meetings of a handful of individuals in an informal setting, to major assemblages of delegates and associated commercial exhibitors in large purpose-built conference centres. One of the largest international conferences held to date was the International Rotary meeting at the National Exhibition Centre in Birmingham, which was attended by 23 000 delegates. This was a notable success for Birmingham in its attempt to establish itself as a major international conference venue. However, this is a highly competitive market and within Western Europe alone there is competition from centres from as far apart as Vienna, Helsinki and Belem (Lisbon). Furthermore, the competition is becoming more intense. Smith (1990, 211) writes:

The last 20 years have seen considerable changes in the meetings industry, in itself a new phrase. . . Now every sizeable town in the world sees itself as a meeting place, promotes its facilities for conferences and seminars, pays at least a little attention to the search for friends among meeting planners, welcomes their delegates, provides overt and covert inducements which can range from a free deckchair to a no-charge convention centre for 1000 people for a week.

While there is a strong element of regionalization in the international conference market, this coexists with a growing tendency to globalization. For example, the American Law Association has held its conference in London, and there are increasing numbers of truly world conferences, such as the Rio 'Earth Summit.' In some market segments, therefore, Birmingham is in competition not only with Brussels and Barcelona, but also with Baltimore, Bangkok and Bali. The requirements for success as an international conference centre are demanding: a high degree of accessibility, especially in terms of air travel; modern, well-equipped conference facilities; a large stock of adjacent high-quality accommodation; and an attractive tourism image which will attract not only the delegates but also their 'accompanying persons.'

International business travel has expanded considerably in recent years as a result of the globalization of the world economy. In 1989 the world business travel market had an estimated value in excess of \$ 320 billion (Petersen and Belchambers 1990). Its geographical distribution closely resembles that for trade in goods and services, and

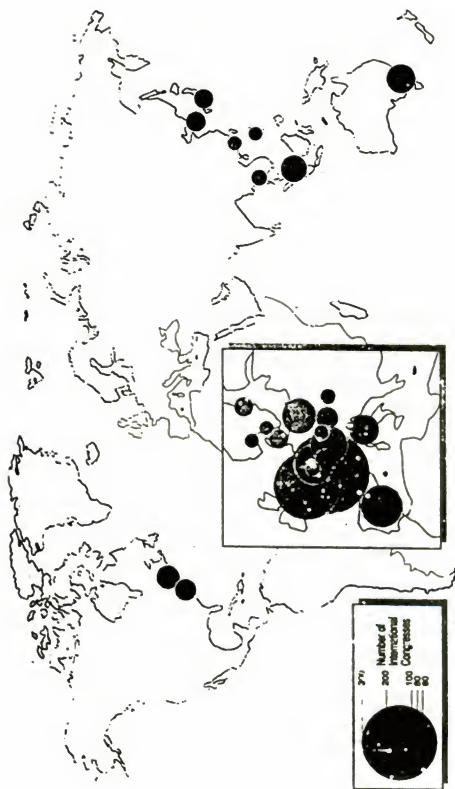


Figure 14.6 The number of international congresses held in key cities, 1988

Source: Smith (1989)

therefore accords strongly with the core-periphery model of economic development. The most important elements are regionalization within the cores of the Americas and Europe,

global linkages between the cores, and core-adjacent periphery movements. In addition, international business tourism is predicated by the internal organization of transnational companies themselves.

Transnational companies are involved in a global search to maintain capital accumulation. They seek out new international locations which offer access to markets, advantageous production costs, or the opportunity to secure strategic advantages over other transnationals. Given changes in technology and factor costs, transnationals have tended increasingly to spread their operations across international boundaries. This often involves the spatial separation of different stages of production: in extreme form, headquarters are located in one continent, while production and regional management are located in others.

Hymer (1975) is most closely associated with the conceptualization of this model (Figure 14.7). The model has been criticized for ignoring the possible existence of production in all zones, and for the location of lower level management in the major metropolitan centre. However, if this fuller model is taken into account, then it can provide a simple framework for understanding the geographical distribution of international business travel. Not least, this new international division of labour is predicated on 'enabling technologies' (Dicken 1986), which provide a 'permissive environment' (Knox and Agnew 1989, 92) for decentralization while maintaining central coordination. The main 'enabling technologies' are technological developments in transport and communications, and developments in company organizational methods.

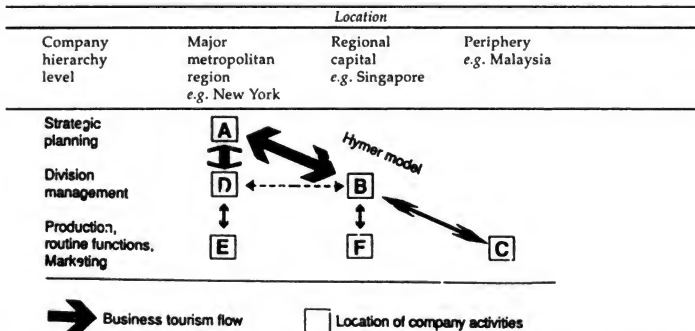


Figure 14.7 The business tourism potential of the spatial organization of transnational companies
Source: adapted from Hymer (1975)

The role of business travel in this model of spatial organization is somewhat ambivalent. Improved international travel was a precondition for the development of

more sophisticated international divisions of labour. However, improvements in information technology (videoconferencing, faxes, satellite link-ups etc.) are challenging the need for travel between company branches. This tendency does exist but, at the same time, there continues to be a need for face-to-face contact. This can be understood in terms of the hierarchy of contacts in the structure of businesses (Goddard 1973). At the highest levels of company management, there is a need for a high intensity of face-to-face contact in the process of strategic decision-making. As you descend through management hierarchies, and as decision-making becomes more routine, the requirement for face-to-face contact diminishes. This is one of the principal reasons for the spatial concentration of company headquarters within national economic spaces, in metropoli such as New York, Tokyo, Milan and Paris.

An important element of international business tourism involves the linking together of global headquarters cities (Cohen 1981). Indeed, Dicken (1986, 1993) writes that the corporate headquarters of the global company '... requires, above all, a strategic location on the global transport and communications network in order to keep in touch with its far flung empire.' Regional headquarters have '... to be accessible both to their corporate headquarters and also to the affiliates under their immediate control.' Therefore, while some of the more routine international business travel may be replaced in the near future by new forms of information technology, business tourism is likely to become even more important as transnationals continue to extend their global reach.

TABLE 14.7 The Continuum of Geographical Incorporation

	<i>The continuum of incorporation</i>			
	<i>None</i>	<i>Weak</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Strong</i>
Type of periphery	External arena	Contact periphery	Marginal periphery	Dependent periphery
Market articulation	None	Weak	Moderate	Strong
Impact of core on periphery	None	Strong	Stronger	Strongest
Impact of periphery on core	None	Low	Moderate	Significant

Source: Hall (1986, 392)

Tourism and the Less Developed Countries

The less developed countries are in the process of being incorporated into the world economy. This is an uneven and contingent process, and it does not necessarily follow a set sequence. Nevertheless, it is useful to conceptualize these economies as lying along a continuum, for which Hall (1986) provides a working typology (Table 14.7). There are four stages of incorporation—none, weak, moderate and strong. These are defined in

terms of market articulation, the impact of the core on the periphery, and the impact of the periphery on the core. The form and level of tourism development in a Third World country is partly dependent on the stage of incorporation (because of the need for infrastructure and certain social relationship) but it also contributes to the process of incorporation.

In most respects, Hall's typology could be used to model the role of tourism incorporation. The greater the incorporation, then the greater is the market articulation, and the greater the impact of the core on the periphery. This broadly accords with models of tourism development in the Third World. The main difference is that, with tourism, the impact of the core of the periphery remains limited even when there is strong incorporation of its tourism economy. This is because the tourism flows—unlike those of industrial trade—remain highly asymmetrical; that is, from the developed countries to the less developed countries. However, at the same time, the fact that tourism moves people rather than goods between the First and the Third Worlds means that 'There is no other international trading activity which involves such critical interplay among economic, political, environmental, and social elements as tourism' (Lea 1988, 2). In this section we provide a brief overview of some of the critical issues in Third World tourism, although most of these themes will be developed in greater detail elsewhere in the text. There are five major issues to which we draw general attention here:

1. International tourism is characterized by asymmetrical power relationships, with most of the power and influence residing in the more developed countries. This is symbolized by the nature of the exchange which takes place: tourists from the developed countries demand high levels of luxury at prices below those which they are willing to pay in their home countries. These are provided by indigenous labour (and some enterprises) which require hard foreign currency and which usually lack alternative sources of income.
2. The relationships between Third World countries and the tourist markets in the developed world are mediated by a group of organizations such as travel agencies, tour companies and airlines. Even more so than in the case of the semi-peripheral economies, such as Greece or Mexico, the less developed countries lack the means of excluding the intermediaries from these relationships. This is partly related to their colonial backgrounds and the historical underdevelopment of indigenous capital. The result is not only structural dependence but also a high level of income leakage. For example, in Gambia only 10 per cent of gross earnings from tourism are retained by the local population (Cater 1987). This is reinforced by the enclave nature of many tourism developments, which limits the spatial and social dispersion of expenditure.
3. Tourism brings both positive and negative economic benefits (Table 14.8). These centre on its effects on other sectors of the economy, the demand for and development of facilities and infrastructures which will affect the local populace, foreign exchange earnings, GDP, employment, and net government revenue.
4. There are also both social and cultural effects of international tourism. The social

effects centre on the modernization of society and polarization, the family, and the broadening of social horizons/social pathology. The cultural effects centre on indigenous culture, the natural environment, landscapes, the built environment and demonstration effects.

5. The assessment of the economic, social and cultural effects listed above has been left open-ended at this stage because of the difficulty of making generalizations about the impact of tourism. This, in turn, is related to the multilinear nature of tourism (Cohen 1979b). Tourism can have organic growth rooted in the indigenous economy and society, or it can be externally driven. This, together with variations in the nature of the tourism inflows and the economic, social and cultural character of the recipient areas, means that the impacts of tourism in the less developed countries are highly contingent.

TABLE 14.8 The Economic, Social and Cultural Impacts of Tourism

<i>Positive</i>	<i>Negative</i>
1	2
<i>Economic</i>	
Agricultural stimulus	Distention of agricultural production
Create new markets for their products in the developed countries	Decline of certain products not in international demand
Stimulus to fishing	Disturbance of traditional fishing ports and beaches
Stimulus to manufacturing	Manufactured goods/imported
Creation of new tourism attractions such as beaches or swimming pools, which can be used by locals	Over use of existing attractions
Funds new infrastructure: water, roads, power and telephones	Saturates existing infrastructure
Earns foreign exchange	Leakage of foreign exchange income to intermediaries, and to purchase imported goods
Increases GDP, directly and indirectly via multiplier	Brings greater external control over the economy

(Contd)

1	2
Increases government revenues from taxation	Increased government expenditure
Creates employment	In-migrants hold many key management jobs; seasonal nature of employment
Offers jobs requiring little training or previous skills	Condemns labour force to low-skilled jobs
External source of growth	Dependence
<i>Social</i>	
Modernization of society	Polarization of social structure and increased income inequalities
Modernization of the family, via new gender and intergenerational conflicts	Disintegration of the family
Broadening social horizons and reduced prejudices among the tourists	Social pathology, including prostitution, drugs, etc.
<i>Cultural</i>	
Development of indigenous culture	Disappearance of indigenous culture under the impact of commercialization
Greater protection of the natural environment	Destruction of the natural environment
Improve landscapes and architectural standards	Destroys landscapes, and leads to non-integrated tourism complexes
Contributes to conservation of monuments and buildings	Degradation of monuments and buildings
Positive demonstration effects	Negative demonstration effects

Source: Elaboration on a classification developed in World Tourism Organization (1981, 9-13).

Finally, it can be observed that there has been a tendency within the tourism literature to treat tourism as a unique force for economic, social and cultural change. While there are some unique features of tourism as an agent of change, de Kadt's (1979, 12) dictum that 'tourism is not a unique devil' is certainly worthy of note. There is a need to assess the opportunity costs of tourism, both in the sense of the diversion of resources from other sectors, and in the sense of evaluating what other economic strategies are open to a particular country or region. In the latter context, the 'green revolution' and rapid industrialization—even if achievable—have their own well-catalogued mixtures of positive and negative economic, social and cultural impacts, which also require careful consideration (see, for example, Knox and Agnew 1989).

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